

Andrew Sharf

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and other
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Bar-Ilan University Press

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PROF. ANDREW SHARF
(1915-1990)

CONTENTS

Memoir by Avrom Saltman	7
Statements, Generalisations and Karl Popper's Historicism	15
The Eighth Day of the Week	28
Jews in Byzantium	52
Heraclius and Mahomet	80
Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century	96
The Jews, the Montanists and the Emperor Leo III	109
The Vision of Daniel as a Byzantine-Jewish Historical Source	119
An Unknown Messiah of 1096 and the Emperor Alexius	136
Byzantine Jewry in the Thirteenth Century	148
Shabbetai Donnolo as a Byzantine Jewish Figure	160
"Tli" and "Jawzahr" in the Macrocosm of Shabbetai Donnolo	178
Animal Sacrifice in the Armenian Church	190
Byzantine Orthodoxy and the "Preliminary Fast" of the Armenians	223
Armenians and Byzantines in the Time of Alexius I Comnenus	247
Jews, Armenians and the Patriarch Athanasius I	269
An Armenian King at the Court of Richard II	287
Andrew Sharf: List of Publications	301
<i>Hebrew Section</i>	
The Defence of Byzantium's Eastern Frontier and the Mardaites	†
Notes on a Passage from the <i>Hakhmoni</i> of Shabbetai Donnolo	‡

MEMOIR OF ANDREW SHARF

To have been born in Imperial Russia in 1915 could hardly be regarded as a recipe for a happy or successful life. For the approximately 100,000 Jewish infants born in Russia in that year, life itself was at issue, not happiness or success. How many of them were still alive by 1920? By 1941? By 1945?

An ex-colleague of ours, well known to Andrew, recently published some fascinating chapters of autobiography entitled *Memoirs of a Fortunate Jew*. It may perhaps comfort us a little on this sad occasion that the same title would have been no less appropriate for a work which Andrew himself could have written...

The city of Rostov-on-Don, where Andrew was born, belongs essentially — if remotely — to our Mediterranean world, the Biblical Great Sea, an area which was to become the principal field of his historical research. Rostov abuts on the ancient boundaries of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. It was home to thousands of Armenians. It cannot be mere coincidence that, in his later years, Andrew published the results of basic researches on the history of the Armenians and the singular form of Christianity practised by them.

As for the Jews of Rostov, they were distanced both legally and spiritually from the Russo-Jewish heartland. The city had been excluded from the Jewish Pale of Settlement. The Russification of the Rostov Jews proceeded apace, which did not prevent a pogrom in 1883. Some five years later an order was issued for the expulsion of the Jews. After much petitioning, supported even by the Don Cossacks and, doubtless, judicious bribery in appropriate places, the Jews were permitted to remain, but no more of them were to be allowed to settle in Rostov.

It is not surprising that Judaism in Rostov was at a low ebb, but probably no lower than in Liverpool, its English counterpart, at a later stage in Andrew's career.

Even in the Pale of Settlement it was taken for granted that Jewish professional men, for the most part physicians and lawyers, would disburden themselves of the weight of Jewish tradition and refuse to converse in the despised "Jargon" (Yiddish). Whether this can be called "assimilation" or not is open to question. In Russia, as in medieval Europe, the sole road to true

assimilation was baptism, possibly effective in the second or third generation. I should guess that in early twentieth-century Rostov, unlike Minsk or Pinsk, there must have been a fair number of Jews who were utterly ignorant of the "Jargon". Andrew's father was a lawyer, and a Leftist to boot. So far as I can gather, he did not pass on to his children much idea of Judaism, if he had any at all himself. It is written: The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord." Andrew's lamp was never totally extinguished. After many years, and with much effort, he succeeded in recovering the Jewish heritage of which he had almost been robbed, also in rewarding his parents with Kaddish on the anniversaries of their deaths. His mother spent her last years with Eva and Andrew, and is buried in Holon. But Andrew firmly drew the line at "Jargon", which for him included such vestiges of Aramaic which had not been weeded out of modern Hebrew.

Rostov changed hands several times after the 1917 Revolution, from the Germans to the Whites, from the Whites to the Reds. But Andrew's father was definitely not the right shade of red. In fact, it was Andrew who saved the family from an unpleasant fate. He suffered from a serious eye infection, and his parents succeeded in obtaining permission to leave for the West to seek specialist treatment.

Eventually they reached London (other members of the family remained in Paris). Unfortunately, Andrew's father never succeeded in establishing himself in London. For the most part they lived in the East End among the proletariat. It was there that Andrew made a number of good and loyal friends, friends for a lifetime. In spite of all difficulties, he received secondary education at one of the best schools in London, the City of London School. He showed great ability in Classics, which ultimately gave him the key to the Byzantine treasure-house. But university studies had to be postponed indefinitely. Instead, he was thrown onto the employment market during the Great Slump and made an exiguous living from odd jobs and the dole.

Throughout his life he was clearly distinguishable as *homo politicus*. Even in his later years, when all available effort was concentrated on historical research, his approach to life was basically political. "Incorrect" political views aroused his ire. He believed that the human condition could be improved by political means. This belief is not exclusively Marxist — for instance, the anti-Marxist philosopher K.R. Popper held to it. Popper's political philosophy had a considerable influence on Andrew's thinking in the '50s. But twenty years earlier, a period of economic depression which saw the meteoric rise of dictatorships and the paralysis and betrayal of democracy, Popper was neither available nor necessary. In those days Andrew belonged to the small Marxist-Trotskyist wing of the English Left, which affected his future development in three ways:

1. His abiding interest in political theory and philosophy. For years he lectured at Bar-Ilan on the history of Political Theory to a packed lecture-hall, and I do not doubt that some of his auditors are present this evening. He contributed an important article on the subject to the Kurzweil memorial volume which appeared in 1975, following another article which had appeared in the 1969 Bar-Ilan Annual on "History and the Scientific Method".

2. He acquired great expertise in the art of debating. The "Comrades" were prone to argue about anything or nothing at great length, much as the medieval scholastics in their day sharpened their command of dialectic and rhetoric. Needless to say, the "Comrades" enjoyed more freedom of expression than was allowed by the Leninist-Stalinist establishment, at the price of uncontrollable fission. When Andrew achieved membership and chairmanship of committees of the Senate at Bar-Ilan, it became abundantly clear that he was the only one to have any idea of parliamentary procedure. In the Senate itself he was universally accepted as the final procedural authority. The law was firmly laid down on "points of order", "points of information" and "the previous question", none of which had ever been heard of at Bar-Ilan, and possibly nowhere else in Israel! When he was head of our Department, it was a pleasure to see him run the meetings, dispose of the agenda in due order and brush aside the more obstreperous speechifiers. He also knew exactly when to raise his voice, which had considerable power, to beat down the opposition when his case was perhaps not the strongest. I can reveal two pieces of advice he gave me on committee work: never boycott meetings for any reason and never resign.

3. Seeing that nearly all the "Comrades" were Jews, he was paradoxically maintaining his Jewish identity. I often think of this as his Dönmeh period. In later years I met one or two of them who were recalled to some form or other of Judaism. For instance, there was Jack Warman, who made a substantial contribution towards buying books for our Seminar Library which we were trying to build up. He also gave money for an Essay Prize for the Department, which was awarded to Chava Eshkoli.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 Andrew volunteered for the British Army, not waiting for the call-up, from which in any case he would have been exempted on account of his eye. He no longer saw the war as a capitalist ploy, a view which was fashionable in the political circles in which he moved, but rather as a moral necessity. The forces of Satan, i.e., Hitler, the most dangerous enemy the Jewish nation ever had in all its history, had to be vanquished. During his military service he saw many parts of the world, in particular India, which left an abiding impression upon him. He learned Hindustani, up to what

point I am not competent to pronounce, and became something of an authority on Indian history. A useful by-product was the seminar he occasionally held at Bar-Ilan on the rise of Indian nationalism.

After the War, the demobilized forces were offered numerous concessions in the field of higher education. And so, comparatively late in life, at the age of 30+ he began a new career which was to lead him to distinguished scholarship and university administration, to Zionism and a worthwhile contribution to the new State of Israel. He completed his doctorate in Byzantine history under the supervision of that outstanding and supremely terrifying scholar Joan Hussey, of whom he always spoke with respect and not a little awe. It is not long since she celebrated her eightieth birthday, and of course Andrew contributed an appropriate article to her *Festschrift*. Other significant changes in his life and life-style were marked by his marriage to Eva in 1951 and his teaching appointment at Liverpool University in 1952.

Apart from Professor Hussey I could mention many other historians who may have influenced Andrew's thought and development, but restrict myself to those he referred to most frequently. During his Liverpool period he was fortunate to serve under Geoffrey Barraclough, who was in charge of medieval studies. Barraclough was a great and entertaining scholar. He was full of ideas, not all of which have stood the test of time, and his interests transcended the most generous bounds which could be allotted to the Middle Ages. His modern counterpart, Professor Thomson, apparently resented these incursions and much else. As we say in Israel, there was no "chemistry" between them; they had not been on speaking terms for years. If the History Department at Liverpool was able to function at all, the credit must be given to Hans Liebeschütz, a real *Lamed Vovnik*, even if he was a pillar of the Reform Synagogue, who took upon himself the thankless task of mediator and go-between. A humanist himself, Liebeschütz was attracted to John of Salisbury, the greatest of the medieval humanists, on whom he was a leading authority. Andrew often spoke of the Liebeschützes (*père* and *fils*) with warm affection.

I think Andrew's experiences in the History Department at Liverpool enabled him to play a useful part during the "Great Schism" at Bar-Ilan in 1962, when two rival Senates claimed the undivided allegiance of the academic staff. When that particular storm blew itself out, Andrew found himself, in effect if not in title, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities.

Why did Andrew decide to emigrate to Israel? At that time I had friends who found life in England boring or dull and so departed for Australia. In his Liverpool days Andrew's interest in Israel developed and Eva had relatives in Israel who were among the founding fathers of Kfar Shmaryahu. At any rate, Andrew undertook fund-raising work on behalf of the English Friends of the

Haifa Technion. This experience stood him in good stead in 1963, when he was called upon to do similar work for Bar-Ilan in England. Hitherto the only extant Friends of Bar-Ilan were to be found in Detroit. His efforts to attract a substantial donor bore fruit, and, at least in part, the building of the Bar-Ilan Central Library may be attributed to him.

Andrew and Eva arrived in Israel in 1958 without any firm prospects. It is true that he came equipped with a knowledge of Hebrew grammar which would not have disgraced a Gesenius. In time he became familiar with modern Hebrew literature — one of his favourite authors was Hazaz — but Hebrew always remained for him a foreign language. Contrariwise, his attachment to his Russian *mamme loshen* grew stronger.

The Sharfs settled in Jerusalem, where they attended a residential Ulpan, afterwards living in Kiryat Yovel. Bar-Ilan was a new university, very much a *parvenu* on the Israeli academic scene: it may be doubted whether Andrew heard much good of it in Jerusalem. All the same, I suppose *faute de mieux*, he submitted his name to Bar-Ilan. There were two other candidates for the History Department, but Andrew's qualifications were infinitely superior, with publications to his credit in the more prestigious journals. Strangely enough, one of his warmest supporters was Baruch Unterman, Secretary of the University (a fellow-Liverpudlian or a *landsman*, as he described himself), who normally took no interest in the academic side of the University, or in any other side if truth be told. At that time Unterman's father was the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Tel-Aviv, having previously served in Liverpool, while his brother Maurice was in charge of the moribund Bar-Ilan office in Mayfair (!), London.

At first Andrew held a part-time job — Bar-Ilan was still very small with about 300 students — but after a couple of years he was appointed to a full-time post, with the rank of Senior Lecturer. Not long afterwards he was promoted to Associate Professor, and in 1971 achieved the rank of Professor. As the leading Byzantinist in Israel his services were requested by other academic institutions, and for a time he taught at Haifa University by request of Professor Grabois, head of the History Department. Strangely enough, when Agnon's novel *Shira* was published in book form in 1971, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem was presented therein as a veritable hotbed of Byzantine studies. In practice, the subject was almost completely neglected there: the leading Byzantinist being found at Bar-Ilan!

Returning to the academic year 1958–59, we find Andrew trying to supplement his exiguous part-time income. He succeeded in obtaining a research post at *Yad Washem* (the English transliteration of the name of this Institution afforded him much amusement), where he met Nathaniel Katzburg, historian of Hungarian Jewry and an esteemed colleague at Bar-Ilan.

In London my parents had a neighbour called Joshua Podro (formerly Podrushnik) living a few doors away, who had one of the finest private libraries of Judaica in England. I often wonder what happened to it. Podro was a wide-ranging amateur scholar, completely undisciplined. He advised Robert Graves when the latter was preparing his historical novel *King Jesus*, and collaborated with Graves in their joint publication *The Nazarene Gospel Restored*. He seemed to be a rich man and probably was a very rich man. Back in the '20s or the early '30s he invented the idea of a press-cutting agency, and his was the leading firm in London which supplied public figures, who subscribed in increasing numbers, with newspaper cuttings in which their names appeared. But at the same time, on his own account, he extracted every reference to Jews in the British Press. Eventually he sent this mass of material to *Yad Washem*. Andrew took it upon himself to bring order to this tohu-bohu, and it soon became obvious to him that a book was here in the making. The press-cuttings indeed yielded a very good book (together with a useful offspring of articles, lectures, etc.) entitled *The British Press and the Jews under Nazi Rule* (Oxford University Press, 1964). This important work has been frequently cited down to the present.

Andrew's other books, although devoted to his field of specialization, are distinguished by a wholesome broad-mindedness and lack of pedantry. One doesn't need to be a Byzantinist to enjoy them. In short, they are much easier for us to read than they were for him to write. In many historical works the reverse is true. His classic work of synthesis, which Samuel Krauss and Joshua Starr never succeeded in accomplishing, is *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*. This volume won universal acclaim. A more specialized monograph is his book on the medieval Jewish physician Shabbetai Donnolo, which brought Andrew to the western borders of Byzantium and illustrates his capacity to produce original work in the less familiar fields of medieval mathematics, astronomy and medicine. His books received international recognition, naturally in England where he carried out and published most of his research, but no less in Greece, where he won the warm regard of Professor Stratos, the Byzantinist doyen. After the latter's death, Andrew was presented with a medal *in memoriam*.

It is regrettable that at Bar-Ilan nobody was able to follow in Andrew's footsteps. Owing to his sedulous care, the university and department libraries were equipped with the necessary books and journals, but no research students were forthcoming. The main difficulty was Greek. No history student would learn the language; the few students at Bar-Ilan who did learn Greek were drawn towards the Bible Department. Andrew did supervise students for higher degrees, but only in American and Russian history.

Unlike others, Andrew did not allow his research interests to cause him to neglect his other duties at the University. He was head of our Department three times, eight years in all. He did everything he could for the benefit of the Department, and was constantly on the look-out for promising young historians who could be recruited. As I look around me, I see — among others — the two Cohanim, who have now been at Bar-Ilan for 18 years. As departmental head he was punctilious in enforcing discipline, and woe betide the slackers! He demanded no less from himself than from others. He never cancelled lectures for any reason and never cut them short. The lectures themselves were always meticulously prepared. He always returned examination papers without delay, even from abroad, where he generally spent the summer vacation. He never missed a meeting of any kind. I have been informed by Mr Ralbag, co-ordinator of professional committees for academic promotions etc., that it is almost impossible to get five professors to agree on a time for a meeting, but that “Sharf was unique in never making trouble”. For several years he was chairman of the “committee of ceremonies” and, in that capacity, efficiently organized the so-called “Commencement Exercises”. In brief, he behaved in these matters less like a Russian and more like a *Yekke*.

After his retirement he continued part-time teaching at a very nominal salary. It was his pleasure to attend the departmental meetings, seminars and other events and to take an active part in the deliberations.

Our dear colleague maintained reasonably good health during the years of full employment and, on his retirement, received a bonus for never having taken a day's sick-leave. Lately, however, he appeared to have weakened, but he didn't like to discuss his health. For the first time he looked his age, or even older. For all that, he was full of optimism and determination and spoke of his intention to visit the Far East. His final illness and death in England came to us all as a great shock and surprise.

It is no idle formality to state that without Eva's support he would not have attained what he did, but I feel she would not like me to enlarge on the subject. Andrew's old pupil Professor Haim Genizi will now learn *Mishnayyot* in his memory.

ת. נ. צ. ב. ה.

Avrom Saltman

* based on an address given at a memorial meeting held by the General History Department of Bar-Ilan University on 6 Tishre 5751 (25.9.90).

STATEMENTS, GENERALISATIONS AND KARL POPPER'S HISTORICISM

In these sparse comments on a complex topic my first task is to acknowledge the debt I owe to the late Professor Kurzweil for stimulating my interest in the philosophy of history and, particularly, in Karl Popper's idea of historiography — a stimulus which has been of considerable help to me in more ways than one. I cannot, however, pretend to have succeeded in gaining more than an amateur's understanding of the problems involved, and trust that Professor Kurzweil would not have been too disappointed with the present attempt to discuss some of them — an attempt for which, of course, he was in no way responsible.

Popper's campaign to cleanse historiography from what he called historicism is familiar enough.² He uses this term as a collective description for all those accounts of events in the past which find there a pattern whose structure is expressible by means of universal statements no different from those to be found in accounts of procedures in the exact sciences, those accounts, that is, which assert the existence of historical laws strictly comparable to scientific laws. Marxism, with its explicit claim to scientific status, is an obvious example of historicism and it is the principal target of Popper's attack. And his attack on Plato is really part of it, rather than his highly entertaining lampoon on Hegel, which cannot be taken very seriously.³ I mention Marx and Plato because it is important to recall that, for Popper, his polemic has far more than an academic meaning. Maurice Cornforth, the only one so far

1. An elaboration of the paper "Historical Statements and Historical Descriptions" delivered at the Bar-Ilan Philosophy Colloquium held in January, 1971.
2. See, e.g., K. R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, London (1957).
3. K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*, 3rd. ed., London (1957), vol. 2; see especially pp. 199—211; vol. 1, pp. 138—168.

as I know, to give a detailed Marxist rejoinder to it, saw that point, at least, very well.⁴ The historicist idea of historical laws implies, as with scientific laws, their continued operation in the future, a situation which politicians, sociologists, and so forth can only ignore at their peril, just as the individual in his daily life will so imperil himself if he ignores scientific laws — for example, the law of gravity. Thus, the acceptance of a particular set of historical laws will determine or, at least, greatly circumscribe courses of political action, programmes of social reform, etc. Historicism, says Popper, categorically states, after all modifications and reservations have been allowed for, what human society is and what it will be — or, perhaps, what it will be if certain actions and not others are taken. It is thus the enemy of Popper's "Open Society" — the possibility of whose existence is symbolised by his somewhat cryptic apothegm that "everything is possible in human affairs"⁵ — since it is a society which is, in effect, thought of as virtually independent of previous developments, not to speak of the historicist interpretation of them.

It is probably this conviction of his, to which, of course, he is fully entitled, that the "Open Society", the society about whose structure or future as little as possible can, or should be, predicated or predicted, that this and only this society is a positive good, while all its alternatives — "its enemies" as he puts it — that is all those which exist, or are planned to exist, according to the historical laws of the historicist, are, or are likely to become positive evils, it is this act of moral judgment which probably led Popper considerably beyond his criticism of certain historians' belief in the existence of such laws. He came to suspect any historical generalisation whatever. He came to suspect of historicism, any statement by a historian, that is to cast doubt *ab initio* on its validity, if it included a general label for a group of events supposed to have common characteristics. He came close to rejecting the possibility of any intelligible statements about movements or about tendencies, from the suspicion that the generalisations inevitably included in such statements might have "lawlike" elements. Generalisations about movements or tendencies were either histori-

4. M. Cornforth, *The Open Philosophy and the Open Society*, London (1968).
5. Popper, *The Open Society*, vol. 2, p. 197.

cist or meaningless. For to be meaningful and not historicist they would have to proceed from the sum total of the accounts of the lives and activities of every single one of the participants.⁶ A generalisation might be a convenient pointer to what took place. More frequently, it was a deliberately misleading historicism. The same was true of so-called historical periods. To write history in this way, in the way that historicists and, under their influence, most historians imagined was impossible. Both the divisions and the continuity they saw was a mirage. Certainly, many of them did find one kind of continuity which was genuine enough, but that was by writing only one particular history — the history of power politics. This history did have an inner unifying element, a continuity of its own about which a valid generalisation could be made: it was the history of “international crime and mass murder”. It is this highly emotional attack upon historical generalisations which comes as the climax to the passage where Popper makes his well-known declaration — “history has no meaning”.⁷ I cannot help recalling that much the same criticism, but with far greater force, was levelled by Tolstoy at contemporary historians of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic Wars (a criticism later to be brilliantly analysed by Isaiah Berlin) — although Tolstoy was very far from concluding that history had no meaning.⁸

I believe that the effect of this wholesale rejection by Popper of historical generalisation, together with his often convincing objections to certain generalisations which have in fact encouraged over-simplified ideas of historical development, has been to obscure the distinction, crucial for an understanding of the historical method, between the different purposes of different types of statements made by historians in the course of their work, and between the different sorts of status which ought to be given them. Firstly, it cannot be denied that historians do make statements of an explicit or implicit lawlike character. But they are not all of the same status. Some of them do have a status comparable to that of statements in the exact sciences. I have tried to show

6. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 269—270.

8. L. Tolstoy, *War and Peace* (Epilogue); cf. I. Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox*, London (1953).

elsewhere that such statements occur at that stage of their work which has been happily called "the mechanical processes of the historian".⁹

To make what follows intelligible, I have to re-state some of my arguments. The stage I mean is that at which he deals with the tools of his work — say the establishment of a text, or the allocation of the manuscript where that text appears to belong to a "family" of manuscripts. Statements derived from looking at a text or at a number of manuscripts are likely to be of the same status as statements derived from looking at the results of a laboratory experiment, because they are verifiable in the same way, whether by the historian or by the scientist — by further observations. Their purpose, therefore, is also likely to be similar: the preparation of reliable material, reliable because verifiable, which is meant to enable further research to be prosecuted. Such singular observation statements by the historian may lead to, and subsequent ones may be entailed by universal statements also of a law-like character. An example might be, "the Kufic script is used only in manuscripts of the Kur'an". The purpose of such a statement, as that of many scientific hypotheses, is to act as a guide, obviously again as a guide for further research. But, like the scientific hypothesis, it is only a provisional guide. The finding of a non-Kur'anic manuscript in Kufic characters, just as the finding of a result to a laboratory experiment which contradicted previous results, would show its unreliability by falsifying it. It is not necessary to enquire how far this quality of falsifiability as a test, the concept elaborated, of course, by Popper,¹⁰ is in fact accepted by scientists or by philosophers of science. I use it merely to show that statements of this sort, historical and scientific, are both verifiable at least in this way, and that thus their status is similar because they are similarly reliable for a purpose which is common to them both.

This comparison, however, breaks down with statements of a

9. "History and the Scientific Method", **Bar Ilan Volume in the Humanities and Social Sciences** (Decennial Volume II), Jerusalem (1969), pp. XIV—XVI; cf. C. Johnson, **The Mechanical Processes of the Historian**, "Helps to Students of History" no. 50, London (1922).
10. See e. g., K. R. Popper, **The Logic of Scientific Discovery**, London (1960), pp. 40—43; p. 48.

higher universality. Commonsense tells us that some statements of this order are falsifiable and that some are not. The statement "cyanide is deadly to all human beings" is falsifiable, by someone surviving a dose — however unlikely we may think that it will be so falsified. The statement "all men are mortal" is not falsifiable — no instance of longevity would falsify it. Now, historical statements of an higher order of universality than that on which hypotheses drawn from the mechanical processes of the historian operate, are either trivial or unfalsifiable. For example, the statement, "armies exist to further by force or the threat of force civil policies which cannot be furthered by any other means", is probably falsifiable by the instance of an army used in another role, but it is not particularly interesting in itself. On the other hand, the statement, "there have been no decisive battles in history" is much more interesting, but quite unfalsifiable. The political, military, economic or social consequences of any battle involve a multiplicity of factors whose evaluation can never be final in the sense that the result of a specific test can be, if it has the yes-no type of answer to be expected at the level of the historian's "mechanical processes". It should be noticed that a singular historical statement if not at that level, that is if derived from the content of the material rather than from its form — is also unfalsifiable — for example, this statement from Dr. Argov's book on Indian nationalists :

"The general state of unrest in the Punjab during February to June 1907 provided a testing ground for the ideas of the extremists".¹¹

This statement could be strengthened or weakened by evidence additional to that which Dr. Argov, of course, adduces from the material which he studied. But there is no conceivable evidence which could produce a test with a yes-no answer.

It is obvious that historical statements of yet higher orders of universality are, and must be, in this sense wholly untestable. And it is true that such statements, just as the examples I have given, possess a lawlike character in that their form is similar to the form of high order universal statements in the exact sciences. Because of this similarity it has certainly been possible to use them

11. D. Argov, *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian Nationalist Movement*, London (1967), p. 127.

for the construction of an historical philosophy of the sort Popper has called "historicist", to construct, that is, a pseudo-science by using them as the equivalent of scientific laws. And we must admit that Popper's exposure of this false analogy has been of very great service to the study of historiography. But I do not believe that such statements in themselves are historicist in Popper's sense, nor that their use must inevitably imply this historicism.

Once the material for his work has, so far as in him lies, been prepared and mastered, every historian who seeks to be more than a passive recorder of events — for example, the compiler of a year-book — must, somehow or other, try to illuminate what he has prepared. Essentially, he does so by adopting an attitude to what he finds in it, by risking an evaluation of its contents. In other words, the historian has only fulfilled his task after he has drawn his own conclusions from what he has read. These conclusions cannot but be expressed as statements which, in their form, are similar to scientific statements. But this similarity is accidental, it is a purely syntactical similarity forced upon him by the limitations of language. The status of all historical universal statements — as of singular statements of the type I quoted — which are not trivial or do not belong to his mechanical processes is, and must be, quite different from the status of apparently similar scientific statements. But this is because not only cannot they be tested in the same way as scientific statements can be, for example by falsification, but also because they are not meant to be so tested. For their purpose is quite different. Historical statements of this kind are not meant to constitute historical laws, however lawlike their appearance. Their purpose is to illuminate the material by putting forward ideas about the relations and the implications of the events recorded there, thus helping towards an understanding of these events. I neither wish nor have I the ability to discuss the philosophic problems inherent in the concept of "understanding". I can only express the opinion that these are general epistemological problems without any special historiographical application. In other words, I do not think that problems of "understanding" or, for that matter, of "explaining", what is read in a text are any different from problems of "understanding" or of "explaining" any sort of observation whatsoever. I simply mean here that the statement "there are no decisive battles in history" occurring in an account of a war, let

us say, or of several wars, imposes a particular coherence on the material from which this account was drawn without which, or without some other coherence, that material would remain in its raw state and would differ from an historical account, much as builders' material differs from a constructed house. Obviously, the sorts of coherence that can be imposed are not, or should not be, limitless. A serious historian will be limited by his material, just as an architect is by the material at his disposal. Yet, nevertheless, the coherence the historian imposes is the result of his own conclusions about the material, it is not in any way entailed by it, it is not be found in the material itself.

If the imposing of the historian's coherence is the purpose of statements of this type, many of them are likely to contradict each other. What, then, can be their validity? Must they, as Popper certainly implies, be either dismissed as meaningless or combated as historicist? Or, if these statements cannot be tested in the sense that scientific statements can be, should the various conclusions they express have an equal standing in our eyes? Certainly not. I think the standing of an historical statement of this type can be evaluated by tests which are relevant to it, just as there are tests relevant to the evaluation of the standing of a scientific statement.

Firstly, all such historical statements derive, or ought to derive, as has been suggested, from preliminary research, from the mechanical processes of the historian whose statements, at that level, are, in principal, scientifically verifiable, e.g., falsifiable, by anyone who cares to repeat the procedure. Secondly, the fact that the preliminary research limits the conclusions — even if not so definitely as in the example of the architect with his materials — makes it possible, again by repeating the procedure, to test if, at least, there is no glaring disharmony between the first level of the historian's work and the second. Thirdly and more importantly, because more accessible and more realisable in practice, are the tests that can be made of the inner consistency of non-falsifiable historical statements and of their relation to others on the same topic. Precisely because historians' conclusions differ, there is the possibility of evaluating them by comparing them. It is this procedure, merely a matter of commonsense when all is said and done, which can finally make the statements tested both understandable and credible to a greater or lesser degree. It would

be wrong to call this procedure "subjective" in some condemnatory sense. This is the procedure we apply in our daily life, where it usually works perfectly well. The statements that we get from others then need not be ignored because they are not falsifiable. We will normally react to them according to the degree of understanding and belief we are prepared to give them. And our decision on this point, whatever may be the epistemological problems involved, will depend on our estimate of the inner consistency of such statements, together with how they seem to match our knowledge of similar statements. I do not think there is anything more to it than that. It may be objected that this third procedure for testing unfalsifiable historical statements demands professional training as well as commonsense, just as much as do the other two. That is true enough, and the matter may be put thus: the degree of understanding and of belief that the student of history is prepared to give to the statements of historians, is a parallel to the degree of understanding and of belief that the ordinary man is prepared to give to statements about his daily life. In both instances, the value of such statements need have nothing to do with their falsifiability, or with their testability by some other method acceptable in the exact sciences.

Just as such judgments by the historian can have value without any taint of historicism, so can his generalisations be free from the dangers which Popper thinks lurk in them. The purpose of a historian's generalisations is the same as that of his high-order statements — to illuminate the material. If a series of events, or if a number of institutions, appear to have characteristics in common, it helps to an understanding of them if he generalises from these characteristics to decide upon a common label which will fit the whole group. This procedure is helpful since, for example, it is one (of course among many others) by which it is possible to judge the historical role of other events, or of other institutions, according to whether they can be included under that label or no. Now, once again, this procedure may appear somewhat similar to a procedure in the exact sciences. There, the allocation of elements to various classes with suitably descriptive names also helps in the identification of other elements. It is this apparent similarity which, as Popper rightly points out, has encouraged the historicist to claim scientific status for the historian's generalisations — to manipulate such resulting labels as

“the bourgeoisie” or “the German race” as though they had been given to groups whose members were really comparable to the members of a class of botanical specimens. And, once again, as with historical statements above the first level, it is obvious enough that this claim is invalid. Historical generalisations do not, and are not meant to correspond to the systems of classification used by the exact sciences. For example, where a particular system of this kind already exists, it is not necessary to give a separate description of a member of a class in order to justify the assertion that there is such a class and that they do, in fact, belong to it, because the system itself has been constructed on the presumably testable hypothesis that they are identical or nearly identical, that is a hypothesis which proceeded from the finding and separately describing a large number of them. On the other hand, it may well be true that it is impossible to justify the assertion that there are specific groups of events to which general descriptions are applicable — say, the label “Indian nationalist movement” to certain events in northern India during the late nineteenth century — because the life and activities of all the participants, if they could be described, would produce so many variations as to make any generalisation from them capable of justifying a common label extremely problematic.

However, the choice again does not lie between clinging to the historicist belief in the scientific status of historical generalisations, with all the consequences feared by Popper, and the refusal to grant these generalisations any validity at all. For these generalisations and the inclusive descriptions they produce are meant, just as historical high-order statements, to be a guide to the material. And their validity can be tested by precisely those same means which have already been suggested: by their relation to the material, by their inner consistency, by comparison with descriptions of the same groups given by other historians. For the validity of these generalisations does not depend on the testable hypothesis that they are derived from groups of identical or nearly identical members, but on the commonsense of professionally trained persons, on the opinion of such persons whether these generalisations derive from groups with members of sufficiently similar characteristics.

Yet be the inner consistency of historical generalisations, be their ability to pass the tests of commonsense what it may, are they

not, nevertheless, fundamentally misleading, indeed potentially more misleading than historical statements? After all, the latter, whether claimed to have the status of laws or no clearly belong to historiography and not to history. They are explicitly the historian's opinions about the past. They are his concepts which he imposes, as it were, on the *res gestae*, imposes, as I think, with potentially fruitful rather than with necessarily meaningless or misleading results, but without hiding the fact that they themselves are not historical events. Historical generalisations with their inclusive labels on the other hand, claim something more. They are not only supposed to be guides to the material but also genuine descriptions, or summaries, of what actually took place. The label "the Indian nationalist movement" is not only supposed to serve as a historical concept (though it is supposed to do that too) but also as a label for what actually was happening in a particular place at a particular time. Now it is precisely this claim which, according to Popper, is so misleading. Such labels have nothing to do with what really happened. Even if they do not claim the status of scientific classifications, they are still only the product of the historian's imagination — no matter if it be an informed imagination backed by professional training — and have no more substance in history than have his historical laws. It is true that some historical generalisations which actually have been made do fall within this category. For example, generalisations about events that took place in Western Europe between the break-up of the Roman Empire and the rise of independent nation states gave that period the label of "The Middle Ages". This is purely a historian's label which nowadays, as a matter of fact, is fast losing its historiographical utility. In any case, so far as I know, no one then thought that the age he was living in could be so described. An example of an historian's label for a group of institutions might be the complex of secular and religious authorities, of hierarchies of officials, civil and military, with the sultan at their head, which administered the Ottoman Empire in the region of Soleiman the Magnificent, a complex which has been given the label "the ruling institution". Its historiographical utility lies in that it concisely expresses what the essential role of all these elements was, but it probably does not reflect any history, since it is doubtful if anyone living at the time thought of himself as ruled otherwise than by the sultan in person, if not

by his local landlord.

But historical generalisations do not inevitably have to be only historiographical conveniences. Their use may equally well be found in the period itself to which they refer. Thus the label "the Indian nationalist movement" was not the invention of subsequent historians, but was the label consciously and constantly applied by those very individuals whose activities resulted in, for example, the founding of the Indian National Congress. The extent to which it is possible for us to agree that this label was accurate, that it did not obscure, say, the fact that the movement called "nationalist" was only confined to the Bengali intelligentsia, perhaps only to a small section of it, is quite a different question. Answers to it will entail the formulation of historical statements with their own methodological implications. These answers having nothing to do with the question whether this label reflects a historical reality, in this instance the aspirations of those who, rightly or wrongly, thought of themselves as Indian nationalists. Similarly, the period 533—555 C. E. has sometimes been given the label "*renovatio imperii*", because during it most of the activities of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine régime were concentrated on restoring the empire by reconquering its western provinces from the Goths and Vandals. This label is useful historiographically because it emphasises an important aspect of the emperor Justinian's policies, but it is also the label which Justinian himself, or his contemporaries, applied, rightly or wrongly, to what was happening. In short, I think it is simply preverse to insist that internal coherence or chronological continuity are concepts which are always produced at some later date, from outside as it were, and can never reflect the historical reality of their being current at the time.

Of course, I am aware of another difficulty, although I admit that I am unable to analyse it in the way that a professional philosopher might. The difficulty is this: Whether a generalisation with its resulting label was made at the time by those involved in a group of events, by their contemporaries, or by subsequent historians, it is something other than the events themselves, it is an abstraction from them and cannot constitute anything but an idea of them conditioned by the character and the impressions of the participants or of the historian. Whether it be Surendra Nath Bannerji in 1879 or Dr. Argov in 1967 who speaks of an

Indian nationalist movement, the difficulty still remains that this label for the events given by either of them could only be justified (or rejected) either historically or historiographically, at least after the lives and activities of every single one of the participants in that supposed movement have been recorded. Once more, my answer must be that this difficulty is not peculiar to historiography. It is the difficulty inherent in all generalisations whatsoever, with the exception of those which lead to scientific systems of classification, where the recording of the characteristics of every member of a class is unnecessary because they are all, *ex hypothesi*, identical or nearly identical. And the problem of the relation of any impression of a group, however accurately its members have been described, to the group itself is, once more, a general epistemological and not a specific historiographical problem. We are not troubled by this in our daily lives; we constantly make generalisations which cannot be translated into verifiable classificatory system. We are, however, usually perfectly well aware to what extent, if any, are our generalisations justifiable, because we are usually perfectly well aware of the relation of what we say on some subject to what others say or have said on it, and to our own experience. Once again, I do not think that there is a better test for the validity of instances from this historiographical procedure than the test of commonsense backed by professional training.

If, however, the difficulty of historiographical generalisation is deemed insuperable and it is decided to abandon them, then it hardly needs discussion to show that history cannot be written at all. If the abandonment of high-order historical statements leaves only the compilers of year-books in the historiographical field, then the abandonment of historical generalisations must put an end to their work also. For, at the least, their material requires titles for its sections or its chapters, titles which cannot help being descriptive labels implying directly or indirectly such generalisations. Of course, this prospect for members of the profession is in itself no argument for making light of the difficulties of historical generalisation. Popper, in fact, asserts that if the misleading impression of cohesion they give is abandoned, history, at least as we have hitherto understood it, cannot or, perhaps, ought not to be written. I think this is a council of despair, moreover of unwarranted despair even on Popper's own showing.

For he himself is willing to make a generalisation about the history of "power politics" (itself a generalising label) where he does see cohesion and continuity — the continuity of "international crime and mass murder". But, if even one example of historical cohesion is permitted to exist by its fiercest opponent, then, surely, other students of history should be permitted to look for more of them, even perhaps for less gloomy ones.

THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE WEEK

Units in which the passage of time has been measured were once said to be classified into three categories. There were those derived from the observation of natural phenomena: the day, the month and the year. There were those which were a matter of custom or convenience: the division of the day into hours or the night into watches. The week was in a third category: a unit of time determined by authority. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition it was, of course, the authority of the week of creation¹. But the biblical week had a rival: the seven-day unit of astrology. Among the beliefs of how the seven planets, the sun, the moon and the five planets of the Ptolemaic universe, affected human affairs was that each of them, in turn, exercised a predominant influence during twenty-four hours, that each of them became the "lord" of a successive day. How this sequence of lordships was actually determined differed according to different astrological systems. The system which lasted produced the sequence Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, a sequence partially reflected by the names for some of the days of the week in a number of European languages². This seven-

1. E.g. *Bedae Venerabilis De Temporis Ratione* ch.5, ed. C.W.JONES, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 189; cf. N.M.P. NILSSON, *Primitive Time Reckoning, Skrifter Utgivna av Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*, 1 (1920). 1-3, 333-336; E. BICKERMAN, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London, 1965), p. 58.

2. See V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie (Traité d'études byzantines 1)* (Paris, 1958), pp. 165-166; F.H. COLSON, *The Week* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 117-118; cf. Hindi *rāvi* - sun, *wār* - day: Sunday, etc., see S.I. SELESHNIKOV, *The History of the Calendar* (Moscow, 1962), p. 54 (in Russian).

day sequence, which might be thought of as “customary” once it had come into use by astrologers and their followers or on its establishment as the “planetary week”, its usual designation, might equally well be said to have come about “by authority”: the quasi-religious authority astrology had come to enjoy about the time when the planetary week had become part of its teaching, that is towards the beginning of the second century of our era³. And the planetary week could also be classified as “natural”: the sequence of lordships, whatever the system, was linked in one way or another to their distances from the earth of the sun, the moon and the five planets distances which, in principle, had originally been calculated from observations. Similarly, the influences said to be exercised by them, as the predictions made from them, were determined by calculations of their positions in the heavens — again, in principle, originally from observations. The planetary week could be thought of as belonging to all three categories of time unit⁴.

Christianity adopted the Jewish week with its six days denoted by numbers and the sabbath its seventh. From the second century, Sunday began to be called the “Lord’s Day”, that is the day of Christ’s resurrection, probably after the single instance of this name in the New Testament⁵. It was on Sundays that the central act of Christian worship, the eucharist, came to be celebrated and it was then, too, that the faithful would normally assemble for the *agape*, their weekly “love-feast”⁶. However, when the planetary week was becoming a permanent element of astrology, its days with their lordships were also becoming a tenacious popular usage though they might not appear in official calendars⁷. And so, while the church attacked all astrological beliefs and practices with but little success, it found the planetary day particularly hard to eradicate. Perhaps, in addition to the pervasive influence of astrology in general, it was the importance attached to the planetary week by Mithraism, then widespread through the Roman world, which helped planetary days to flourish during the decline of pagan-

3. See *Dionis Cassii Historia Romana* XXXVII.18, ed. J. MELBER, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1890), p. 419, cf. COLSON, *The Week*, pp. 25-38.

4. See e.g. BEDE, ch. 6 (JONES, pp. 190-191); cf. J.C. HARE, ‘On the Names of the Days of the Week’, *Philological Museum*, 1(1832), 5-6.

5. Revelations I.10; on the ‘Lord’s Day’, Κυριακή, *dies dominica*, see J. GOUVEVER, *Biblical Calendars* (London, 1959), p. 165; H. LECLERCQ, ‘Jours de la Semaine’, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* v. 7, pt. 2 (Paris, 1927), cols. 2741-2742.

6. *Doctrina Apostolorum* IX, X, ed. & trans. J. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1891), text, p. 221, trans., p. 232; cf. H. LEIZMANN, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926), p. 231.

7. See F.K. GINZEL, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1914), p. 97; HARE, ‘On the names’, p. 50; BICKERMAN, *Chronology*, p. 61.

ism⁸. Perhaps it was because these days remained a reminder of what was being, at times, only reluctantly abandoned. In 321, the Emperor Constantine decreed the first day of the Christian week to be a day of rest in the cities, when most official business was not to be transacted and workshops were to close. It seems that, first and foremost, his intention was not to honour the Lord's Day but the day of the sun — both its planetary lord and the god *sol invictus*, in the past his special deity which he may not have wholly forsaken when he became the head of the new religion. Indeed, his reign was even spoken of as a "sun emperorship", for it was then that the cult reached its apogee⁹. And this decree of his, whatever its motive, still found a place more than two hundred years later in the legislation of Justinian¹⁰. At any rate, the days of the Christian week continued, not infrequently, to be called by their planetary names, apart from their use in astrology, sometimes together with their numerical designation and their Christian names, in spite of all the ecclesiastical disapproval, even by fathers of the church. Justin Martyr spoke of the crucifixion as having taken place "on the day before that of Saturn", presumably at least to avoid mentioning Venus with her unfortunate reputation, and of the resurrection as having taken place "on the day after, that is on the day of the sun"¹¹. It is true that his words were intended for a pagan audience, but then he might have been expected for that very reason to have added the Christian equivalent. But there are examples of such usage in a wholly Christian context. Christian tombs might be inscribed with the day of death, or of burial, in its planetary form. Thus, the day of death appeared as "the day of Venus" on a Christian Roman tomb of the third century¹². In Egypt, where Christianity was once said to have been received with particular enthusiasm¹³, there were several such inscriptions of about that

8. See F. CUMONT, 'La fin du monde antique selon les mages occidentaux', *RHR*, 103(1931), 54-55; *Idem*, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1899), pp. 118-119.

9. See *Eusebii De Vita Imperatoris Constantini* IV.18,3 (PG 20, col. 1165C); cf. A. ALFOELDI, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 48-49 and p. 48, n. 4; G.H. HALSBERGHE, *The Cult of Sol Invictus* (Leiden, 1972), p. 167 and n. 2 (*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* 23).

10. *Codex Justinianus* III.12, 2, ed. P. KRUEGER, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1954), p. 248.

11. «τῇ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς» - «ἔστιν ἡλίου ἡμέρα», *S. Justini Martyris et Philosophi Apologia pro Christianis* I.67 (PG 6 col. 432A); cf. HARE, 'On the names', pp. 29-30.

12. *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* vol.1, ed. I.B. DE ROSSI (Rome, 1861), pp. 18-19, cf. H. WEBSTER, *Rest Days* (New York, 1916), p. 200, n. 2.

13. See G. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Paris, 1907), Introduction, p. XXIII.

period. A certain priest was recorded as having died "on the day of Aphrodite"¹⁴. A "faithful Christian" died on "the day of Saturn at Easter" and was buried on "the day of the sun"¹⁵. So little was this style thought anomalous, that an inscription recorded "the blessed servant of God, David" as having been buried on "the day of Hermes of our Lord Jesus Christ"¹⁶.

These anomalies certainly found parallels in the slow adoption of other Christian customs. No explicitly Christian marriage rite, for example, seems to have existed before that in an Armenian service book of the ninth century¹⁷. But the non-astrological use of planetary days was more persistent. While in the Christian east, except for solitary instances¹⁸, it probably began to die out after the sixth century, when to call the Lord's Day the day of the sun was still "the custom of the ignorant"¹⁹, in the west it continued to be current well into the fifteenth, with traces of it remaining until modern times. In 1834, when the Armenian scholar J.B. Aucher edited and translated into Latin John of Odzun's *Offices of the Church*, he rendered the Armenian for "however, on Friday" by *die autem veneris*²⁰. Here was presumably a residual western usage. Aucher was one of the Mekhitarists, a group of exiled Armenian scholars for many years settled in Venice. But among the Armenians themselves planetary days had never become popular in the way they had, at one time or another, over most of the Christian world. During the reign of Artasēs or Artaxias II (30-20 BC), that is before planetary days had become established, the sabbatical week had already been introduced into Armenia²¹. However this had come about, the Armen-

14. *Ibid.*, p. 73, no. 381; cf. LECLERCQ, 'Jours', col. 2738.

15. LECLERCQ, *ibid.*

16. LECLERCQ, *ibid.*; G. LEFEBVRE, 'Egypte chrétienne', *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, 9(1908), 176-177, no. 812.

17. See F.C. CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), p. ix, p. xvi, p. 108; cf. L. ANNÉ, *Les rites des fiançailles et la donation pour cause de mariage sous le Bas-Empire* (Louvain, 1941), pp. 137, 142, 154 and note 1, 156 (*Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis: Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Juris Canonici consequendum conscriptae*, series 2, tomus 33), I am indebted to Professor Katzoff of the Classics Department, Bar-Ilan University, for this reference.

18. See e.g. in the fifteenth century Byzantine chronicle of CHALCOCONDYLES (D) I, p. 113, II, p. 159 = (B), pp. 121, 394; cf. M.V. ANASTOS, 'Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy', *DOP*, 4(1948), 222 and n. 195.

19. *S. Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historia Francorum* III.15 (PL 71, col. 254B; cf. WEBSTER, *Rest Days*, p. 221, n. 2).

20. JOHN OF ODZUN (Catholicus of Armenia 712-728), *Yatagz Kargac' Yekōec'egy*, ed. & trans. J.B. AUCHER, *Joannis Philosophi De Officiis Ecclesiae, Domini Joannis Philosophi Ozniensis Catholici Opera* (Venice, 1834), p. 196 (text), p. 197 (trans.)

21. See MOVSES XORENACI, *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'* II.19, trans. V. LANGLOIS, *Moïse de Kho-*

ian week, both before and after the coming of Christianity, exhibited Jewish, rather than pagan associations more clearly than it did elsewhere. Thus, in other communities, Friday, in addition to its designation as the sixth day or the day of Venus, could also be called "the day of preparation", i.e. for the sabbath, after this usage in the New Testament²². In pre-Christian Armenia it was already *urbat* and has remained *urbat* ever since²³, a word derived from the Arabic *'arubah*, the pre-Islamic word for Friday, while the derivation of the latter from the Hebrew *'erev*, evening, i.e. eve of the sabbath, is highly probable²⁴. According to the usually reliable al-Bīrunī, the sabbatical week was long known in pre-Islamic Arabia "where the people had heard of the Torah and the creation of the world from the Syrians"²⁵. Then, in Hebrew, *shabbat*, the sabbath, could mean not only the seventh day of the week but also the whole of it as an alternative to the more common *shavu'a* from *shev'a*, seven. 'Seven full sabbaths might mean seven full weeks — the period between Passover and Pentecost, "*Hag-hashavu'ot* the Feast of Weeks"²⁶. The legendary river Sambation was said to move the stones of its bed every day of *shabbat* — every weekday — but on *shabbat* — the sabbath — it rested²⁷. In the New Testament, not unexpectedly, there are instances of this usage, too. *Sabbaton* could mean either the sabbath or, when preceded by a number, a weekday²⁸ — while the *Paschal Chronicle* added yet another meaning: the name sabbath could be applied to any day of rest²⁹. Later, these additional meanings became less and less common, though instances of them continued to occur in Byzantine sources when referring to events in the gospels or, of course, when quoting from them³⁰.

rène, Histoire de l'Arménie, Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie, vol. 2 (Paris, 1869), p. 110.

22. «ἡ παρασκευή» e.g. Mark 15.42; cf. GRUMEL, *Chronologie*, p. 165.

23. See F. MACLER, 'Calendar (Armenian)', *ERE*, vol.3 (1910), p. 70.

24. See W. HARTNER, 'Ta'rikh', *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (London, 1961), p. 578.

25. AL-BĪRŪNĪ, *al-Āthar al-Bakiya* trans. C.E. SACHAU, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London, 1879), pp. 53, 75-76.

26. Leviticus 23.16

27. *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* XI; cf. M. SELIGSOHN, "Sambation". *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 10 (New York - London, 1925), pp. 682-683.

28. E.g. «νηστεύω δις τοῦ σαββάτου» - "I fast twice a week" (Luke 18.12), but also, «ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ» - "and it came to pass on the sabbath" (Luke 6.1), and the two meanings together, «ὄψε δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων» - "at the end of the sabbath as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week" (Matth. 28.1); the singular or plural of *σαββάτων* was indifferently used in either meaning.

29. *Chronicon Pascale*, PG 92, col. 516B.

30. E.g. «ς' σαββάτου» - "the sixth (day) of sabbath" referring to the crucifixion, *Georgii Syncelli Chronographia*, ed. G. DINDORF (*CSHB*, 1829), vol. 2, p. 607; *Michaelis Pselli Poema* XVII, ed. G. REDL, 'La chronologie appliquée de Michel-Psellos', *B*, 5 (1929-1930), 243; cf. the

Armenian days of the week continued to be expressed by the two original meanings of sabbath, with their respective numbers transliterated from the Greek and the word for sabbath transliterated from the Hebrew. Sunday, the Lord's Day, kept its alternative of "the first day of the week" far longer than it did elsewhere — at least until the middle of the last century³¹.

The days of the week, then, constituted a recognised seven-day unit whether those days bore their various Christian or their astrological designations. The persistence of the astrological designations for the days of the week continued to disturb the church, even though their use had become a tenaciously kept custom due to the authority acquired by astrology. However, the status of the sabbath in the seven-day unit was hardly less disturbing. When the *shavu'a* of the Jews became the *hebdomas* or *septimana* of the Christians, it could not but continue to end and thus, in a sense, reach its culminating point with the sabbath, its seventh day. It was a place in the Christian week to which the right of the sabbath could not easily be denied, seeing that the biblical account of the creation was part of Christian doctrine. In fact, it was on this ground that the continuous usage of "sabbath" for "week" by Christians was sometimes defended: here was no simple continuation of Jewish usage but an acknowledgement of the holiness and excellence of the sabbath through its place in the creation of the world, that made of the sabbath the day by which all the other days ought to be counted³². On the other hand, while the numerical alternative for Sunday did not continue to be generally used as long as it did by Armenians, it did continue for some considerable time after Sunday had begun to be called the Lord's Day in honour of its special place and meaning for Christians³³. It was because of this that there developed attempts to bring out unequivocally Sunday's unchallengeable pre-eminence. Since a numerical alternative did continue to be used side by side with Sunday's proper name, this alternative had to be somehow re-interpreted: the Lord's Day could not also remain merely the first day of the Christian week as the day after the sabbath had been of the Jewish. It is true that, in practice, Sunday had acquired such a pre-eminence over the sabbath from the very beginning because of the sacraments — baptism perhaps as well as the eucharist — the

comment by St. Theophilus of Antioch, "what was called 'sabbath' by the Jews was rendered 'week' in Greek", *S. Theophili Episcopi Antiochi ad Autolyicum* II (PG 6, col. 1069C); cf. also Persian *yek-shanbe*, "the first of Saturday" etc., i.e. "of the week"; see V.V. TSYBULSKI, *Calendars of Middle East Countries* (Moscow, 1979), p. 152.

31. I.e. *Kirake* from Κυριακή or *Miashabati*; see E. DULAURIER, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne* (Paris, 1859), p. 15.

32. BEDE, ch. 8, p. 196

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197; cf. GRUMEL, *Chronologie*, p. 166.

sacraments which gave Christians their hope of eternal life³⁴. And an implicit pre-eminence of Sunday over Saturday perhaps began to be shown when the custom came to be introduced of Sunday services before Saturday had ended. While both in the Byzantine and the Armenian churches the ecclesiastical twenty-four hours were normally reckoned, as the civil day was, from midnight to midnight³⁵, Sunday services began on Saturday at sunset. According to Byzantine commentators, this was because Christ had risen before Sunday had actually come³⁶. John of Odzun, for his part, also stressed how necessary it was to introduce these services already on the Saturday, quite distinct from the mandatory midnight vigil³⁷. Yet neither the place of Sunday in practice, nor the custom of its beginning on Saturday, sufficed to ensure the desired pre-eminence. The custom of beginning services on the previous day obtained on the eve of great festivals, as on the eve of other occasions considered suitable. For that matter, Sunday itself, in some orders of service, was cut short before it grew dark for the eve of Monday prayers to be said³⁸. The pre-eminence of Sunday needed to be formalised. In one Christian community Sunday's pre-eminence had been formalised from the beginning by, nevertheless, demoting the sabbath.

Among Christian Slavs, names for the days of the week, like the designations used by the Armenians, had never owed anything to astrology. But Slavic names also did not follow the Greek or the Roman systems used by Christians elsewhere. The Slavic name for Sunday was *nedela* which meant the day for doing nothing³⁹: Sunday had explicitly become the new sabbath. However, at the same time, *nedela* also meant "week", as "sabbath" did in New Testament —and in Jewish— usage⁴⁰. Thus, *ponedel-*, the name for

34. See W. RORDORF, *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Christian Church* (London, 1968), p. 243.

35. See *Theodori Balsamonis, Zonarae. Aristeni commentaria in canones Sanctorum Patrum qui in Trullo imperialis palatii Constantinopoli convenerunt*, PG 137, col. 820B; *Justiniani Digestorum seu Pandectorum liber II.12, 8* (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 1, pp. 44-45); *Basilica VII, 17, 8*, ed. H.J. SCHELTEMA & N. VAN DER WAHL, *Basilicorum Libri LX*, series A, vol. 1 (Gravenhage, 1955), p. 389; cf. ANASTOS, 'Pletho', p. 236.

36. THEODORE BALSAMON, col. 824A; cf. M.S. FLIER, 'Sunday in Medieval Russian Culture', *Medieval Russian Culture (CalifSISt. 12)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1984), p. 140.

37. *Yovhannu Imastasiri Ojnc'woy Atenabanut'iwn X*, ed. & trans. J.B. AUCHER, *Oratio Synodalis, Opera*, (Venice, 1834) text p. 42, trans. p. 43; cf. G. WINKLER, 'The Armenian Night Office (Part II)', *REArm*, n.s., 17(1983), 494-495 and n. 124.

38. See J. GOAR, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2nd edition (Venice, 1730), p. 24; cf. LECLERCQ, "Jours", col. 2744.

39. Cf. e.g. Russian *ne delat'* - not to do, i.e. to do nothing; see FLIER, "Sunday", p. 110; P. SKOK, 'La semaine slave', *RES*, 15(1925), 16; the derivation of Hebrew *shabbat* from *shavat* to sit, to rest, is a reasonable analogy; cf. A. VAILLANT, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch* (Paris, 1952), pp. xx, p. 102, n. 18 (*Textes publiés par l'Institut des Études Slaves* 4).

40. See FLIER, 'Sunday', pp. 111-112.

Monday when completed by the suffix appropriate to a particular Slavic language, meant that Monday began the week⁴¹. The starting point traditional for both Christians and Jews of their septenary unit was shifted. Presumably influenced by this alternative system, a pilgrim to Jerusalem in the year 384 spoke of a Sunday service taking place “on the seventh day, that is on the Lord’s Day”⁴². Later, Russian orthodoxy explained why precisely this sequence was the right one for Christians: Saturday could not be the culmination of the week, its holy day. That grace had passed to Sunday — the day “crowned the Empress of Days” — because it forever commemorated Easter Sunday, the day of Christ’s resurrection⁴³. It was thus that, eventually, Sunday in Russian came to be called by a name almost identical to the word for resurrection *Voskresen’ye - voskreseniye*. Usually, however, the desired unchallengeable pre-eminence for Sunday was, at the time of that pilgrim, supposed to have been obtained not by altering the traditional septenary sequence but by showing that Sunday’s correct place in it was both at the beginning and at the end: that Sunday, the Lord’s Day, was at once both the first and the eighth day of the Christian week — no less its true culmination than its accepted calendrical beginning⁴⁴.

The arguments for this solution were wont to rely upon alleged references to such an eighth day in the Old Testament. The family of Noah, for example, which was saved from the Flood, numbered eight and this, according to Justin Martyr, was meant for a sign: when the resurrected Christ appeared and became the head of a new race of men saved by his power from the old it would be on the eighth day⁴⁵. Then, the day of circumcision was the eighth after the birth of a male child, a ceremony which prefigured

“the rising from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was on the first day of the week. But, while that day remains the first according to the count of all the days in the cycle, it is thus also the eighth”⁴⁶.

When this latter argument was repeated, it was often derived from an interpretation of the title (in the original the first verse) of the sixth psalm, “To

41. See COLSON, *The Week*, p. 117; cf. SKOK, ‘La semaine’ p. 17.

42. “*Septima autem die id est dominica die*”: *Itinerarium* ch. 24, 8, ed. & trans. P. MARAVALL, *Égérie, Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)* (Paris, 1982), text, p. 242, trans. p. 243; cf. pp. 15-39.

43. See FLIER, ‘Sunday’, p. 105 and n. 2.

44. See P. CARRINGTON, *The Primitive Christian Calendar* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 25.

45. *S. Iustini Philosophi et Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* ch. 41, PG 6, cols. 564D-565A; cf. RORDORF, *Sunday*, p. 278.

46. *Ibid.*, ch.138 (col. 795B); cf. RORDORF, *Sunday*, p. 279.

the Chief Musician, for stringed instruments, on the octochord. A Psalm of David". The octochord, a musical instrument with a range of eight chords, was said to stand for the eighth day, the day of circumcision. David's intention had been to foreshadow a kind of second circumcision, the Christian circumcision of the spirit brought about by the resurrection which also took place on the eighth day⁴⁷. It was the day of circumcision for the newly born in Christ⁴⁸. But these arguments for Sunday as an eighth day were not intended to turn the sabbath into merely an ordinary day of the Christian week. This eighth day added to the sabbath in order to perfect it. An interpretation of the octochord explained that "the eighth day, the day of circumcision, supplemented the sabbath since the creature needs not only the world but something more than the world"⁴⁹. According to the so-called Epistle of Barnabas an eighth day had to be added because

"It is not your present sabbaths which are acceptable to me (i.e. the Lord), but the Sabbath which I have made in which, when I have set all things at rest (i.e. on the seventh day), I will make the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world. Therefore also keep the eighth day for rejoicing since on that day Jesus rose from the dead and ascended into heaven"⁵⁰.

The day of rest and the Lord's Day formed one connected whole: the sabbath did not end with its going out, its end, said St Augustine, was

"the eighth day, sacred to the resurrection of Christ, prefiguring eternal rest not only for the soul but also for the body"⁵¹.

It may be that this continuity can be seen in the custom of beginning Sunday services before Saturday, reckoned in ecclesiastical hours, had ended — the bringing to completion of the old sabbath by the new. Ideas of an eighth day survived for centuries. They were used by Christian apologists,

47. See e.g. Asterii Amaseni Homila XX in *Psalmum VI* (PG 40, cols. 448B-449B).

48. Didymi Alexandrini *Expositio in Psalmos*, VI (PG 39, col. 1176A).

49. Eusebii Pamphyli *Caesariensis Commentarium in Psalmos*, VI (PG 27, col. 120A).

50. *Barnabae Epistola* XV. 8-9, ed. & trans. F.X. FUNK, *Opera Patrum Apostolorum*, (Tubingen, 1881), text, p. 48, Latin trans. p. 49; trans. LIGHTFOOT, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 284; cf. an accusation against certain heretics of fasting on "the blessed day, the first and the eighth" in *S Joannis Damasceni De Sacris Jejuniiis*, PG 95, col. 76C; cf. RORDORF, *Sunday*, pp. 93-94, p. 282.

51. *S Augustini Aurelii De Civitate Dei* XXII.30, ed. B. DOMBART, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 634-635.

mostly of the evangelical kind, in quite recent times: the seven days of creation stood for "the education of man"; the eighth stood for his redemption, the new sabbath which would usher in his eternal rest⁵².

That an eighth day ended a particular period and, at the same time, began a new one was not confined to Christian exegesis. Philo of Alexandria explained why certain Jewish ceremonies, apart from that of circumcision, were celebrated on an eighth day. A series of seven, to be complete, had to be "crowned" or "sealed" by an eighth unit for the next series to begin. Eight was the first number of which there was a natural cube root: it marked the passing from the "insubstantial" to the "solid" — the end of one and the beginning of another conceptual stage, an argument which brings to mind the talmudic saying that the creation of the world had been such a "crowning". Seven entities had been previously created indispensable for the orderly life of man in it: the Law, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Hell, the Throne of Glory, the Temple and the Name of the Messiah — "insubstantial concepts" before the creation of the world, "solids" or solid enough concepts in Jewish thinking, after it⁵³. In any event, it had to be an eighth day which marked the end of a certain period and the beginning of the next. Thus, the festival of Shav'uot was celebrated after seven times seven days had been counted. This was because it marked the end of the period which had begun with the festival of Passover and the beginning of that which would end with *Rosh-hashana*, the Jewish New Year. For the same reason, the eighth day of *Succot*, the Feast of Tabernacles, was celebrated as "The Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly" (*Shemini Atseret*): it both marked the end of the liturgical period the New Year had begun and heralded the next period in the calendar⁵⁴. Thus, for example, on that day was started afresh the cycle of readings from the Pentateuch.

During the first four centuries of the Christian era, there existed a curious parallel to these Christian and Jewish ideas of the last day in an eight-day period being at the same time the first day of the next. This was the *nundinum*, from *novem*, the eight-day cycle of Roman markets, so called because of the Roman system of inclusive counting⁵⁵. Although there does

52. See e.g. E.O. JAMES, *God's Eight Days of Creation* (London, 1909), pp. 75-97.

53. *Philonis Alexandrini De Specialibus Legibus* II. 212, ed. L. COHN, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1906), p. 139; TB *Pesahim* 54a; see H. FREEDMAN, *Tractate Pesahim translated into English, The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo'ed*, vol. 6 (London, 1938), p. 265 and n. 11.

54. PHILO, *op. cit.*, II. 211 (Cohn, p. 139); cf. GOUDOEVER, *Biblical Calendars*, p. 16 (Leviticus 23.36).

55. See COLSON, *The Week*, p. 4; cf. W.M. O'NEIL, *Time and the Calendar* (Sydney, 1975), p. 34.

not appear to have been a historical connection, the *nundinum* had features allowing comparison to the sabbatical week together with its alleged eighth day. The days of the *nundinum* were denoted by the letters A to H. On day H, called the *nundinae*, peasants brought their produce for sale to the city. But this was no ordinary market day. The plural form indicated that it was a recurring festival⁵⁶. And, indeed, it was a day for rejoicing. Little public business was transacted and schools were closed⁵⁷. Under the Republic, the *nundinum* had even constitutional status reflected in law and in administration⁵⁸. While it then had no place in the Roman calendar, it does seem to have acquired one under the Empire. A calendar for the year 354 showing the Kalends, the Nones and the Ides also showed the nundinal letters. Side by side with them appeared letters denoting the days of the Christian week so as to correspond with those in the nundinal cycles⁵⁹, although Constantine had tried to ensure that the *nundinae* would always be celebrated on Sunday, his "day of the sun" and the day of rest he had decreed in its honour⁶⁰. The particular interest of the *nundinum* lies in that, had he succeeded — for if he did so at all it was in one province alone — the days of the *nundinum* and those of the week would have automatically corresponded: just as advocated for the Christian Sunday, the day of the *nundinae* had by then, at any rate, come to be counted twice — day H was also day A, at once the eighth and the first day of the cycle⁶¹. The difference was that while this double count in effect reduced the eight days of the *nundinum* to seven, the double count for emphasising the pre-eminence of Sunday caused the seven-day week to carry along with it a shadowy eight-day unit.

However, there were real eight-day units in Christian calendars comparable to this shadowy one. One of those derived from a pre-Christian eight-day cycle still used in Ethiopia at the beginning of this century. Three such cycles represented the first three phases of the moon, the fourth had only six days so as to complete a month of thirty days. When it became necessary to make this system fit the Christian week, the first three Sundays

56. See WEBSTER, *Rest Days*, p. 94, n. 3.

57. See NILSSON, *Primitive Time*, p. 333.

58. See P. ROUVELIN, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires* (Paris, 1897), pp. 84-99.

59. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. 1, pt. 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1893), pp. 256-278; cf. WEBSTER, *Rest Days*, p. 123, n. 3.

60. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. 3, pt. 1, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1873), p. 127; the inscription refers only to Pannonia.

61. *Ambrosii Macrobiani Saturnalia* I. 16, 34, ed. J. WILLIS (Leipzig, 1963), p. 79; cf. O'NEIL, *Time*, p. 80; A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich, 1972), p. 154 and n. 1.

of this month were each counted twice⁶². Another example was the Octave. Originally this was the celebration of certain saints' days, or of other such occasions, by a second ceremony on the eighth day following, so that it would fall on the same day of the week as had the first — a "crown" or "seal", it might be said, to the whole celebration, much as the Feast of Tabernacles was said to be "crowned" or "sealed" by its eighth day. It was this form of Octave that Constantine introduced for the dedication of churches at Jerusalem and at Tyre, perhaps intentionally to recall the Day of Solemn Assembly in a Christian setting, perhaps in imitation of the ceremonies described at the dedication of Solomon's temple which themselves repeated the order of Tabernacles: "And in the eighth day a solemn assembly: for they kept the dedication of the altar seven days and the feast seven days"⁶³. Shortly after, Easter, Pentecost and, in the eastern provinces of the empire, Theophany were similarly honoured. In the seventh century, the feasts of St Peter, St Paul and St Agnes were each accorded the same order of celebration: on their first and on their eighth day. It was only in the twelfth century that all the days of the Octave acquired a special status⁶⁴, in contrast to the form in which to begin with it was observed, when just its first and its eighth day were given pre-eminence.

But a closer parallel to a calendrical exaltation of Sunday existed in the Armenian Church. This was the order of psalms to be sung in the night office — a real eight-day unit in contrast to interpretations of the Psalmist's eight-chord instrument. All the psalms save the last three in the psalter, and those for no clear reason omitted, were divided into eight groups, or "canons" to be sung on successive nights. These cycles began with the first Sunday in Lent⁶⁵; on the second Sunday in Lent came, accordingly, the turn of Canon VIII, that is at the end of an eight-day unit. Of course, the beginnings and ends of subsequent cycles did not continue to fall on Sundays: it was in the eighth cycle that the first and the eighth day so coincided. The cycle was called an *octoēchos* because each canon was sung in its proper tone or mode⁶⁶. These modes were apparently arranged in an arbitrary sequence, simply to distinguish one canon by its sound from another, a

62. See WEBSTER, *Rest Days*, p. 194 and n. 1.

63. II Chronicles 7.9.

64. *Eusebii Vita Constantini* IV. 45 (PG 20, col. 1196C and n. 17); cf. T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Harvard, 1981), p. 162, pp. 248-249; G. LOEW, 'Ottava', *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, v. 9 (Rome, 1953), cols. 451-3.

65. See WINKLER, 'Armenian', pp. 474-475 and n. 4.

66. From Greek ἠχος (Armenian *tsayn*), see WINKLER, "Armenian" p. 474, n. 7. B. OUTIER, 'Recherches sur la genèse de l'octoéchos arménienne (III)', *Études Grégoriennes*, 14(1973), 182-183.

sequence with no musical significance⁶⁷. This particular arrangement of modes was peculiar to the Armenian night office. Although the same eight modes were known and used in Byzantine and in western psalmody, their arrangement for the night office was quite different; in the Byzantine order two of the eight were not used at all⁶⁸. In this Armenian arrangement the psalms were not equally distributed between the canons, or not as nearly so as they could have been out of the total of a hundred and forty-seven. The eighth canon had more than had any one of the other seven⁶⁹. Each canon in itself constituted an *octoād*. It had seven subsections and was completed by a canticle from the Old Testament⁷⁰. The psalms of each canon were distributed between the seven subsections, with its canticle forming, in effect, an eighth. The canticle which ended the eighth canon was the third chapter of Habakkuk, a mystical evocation of the wisdom and glory of God and of the story of the creation⁷¹. Here, then, were elements together suggesting a clear pre-eminence for the eighth day of an eight-day cycle. According to John of Odzun, the *octoēchos* was so constructed in order to show that this eighth day symbolised Sunday when expressed by its double count⁷².

Not only the arrangement of the modes, but also the eight-day cycle of canons as such was peculiar to the Armenian night office. Analogous rites of other eastern churches, the Byzantine with its twenty *kathismata*, the Syrian with its twenty *hullali* or its fifteen *marmiānah*⁷³, had no discernible relation to any real or notional time unit. It has been proposed that there originally existed a common order for the night office from which the Armenian version had least diverged⁷⁴. However that may be, Armenian psalmody preserved its night office until at least the closing years of the last century, when the eight canons with their respective modes, subsections and canticles were still being chanted in the night office of monasteries at Etchmiadzin, Sewan and At'amar⁷⁵. If John of Odzun was right about the symbolism of the *octoēchos*, one reason for its persistence might have been the

67. See OUTTIER, *op.cit.*, p. 209.

68. See B. ZIMMERMAN, 'The Armenian Church', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 16(1895), 646 and nn. 1 & 2.

69. See J. MEARNES, *The Canticles of the Christian Church* (London, 1914), p. 31; CONYBEARE, *Rituale*, p. 446.

70. *gaba'ā*, representing *copula*, see OUTTIER, 'Recherches' p. 182; cf. WINKLER 'Armenian', pp. 474-476, 483.

71. See W.A. IRWIN, 'The Psalm of Habakkuk', *JNES*, 1(1942), 10.

72. See below, p. 46 n. 111.

73. See WINKLER, 'Armenian', pp. 476-477.

74. See ZIMMERMAN, 'Armenian Church', p. 650.

75. See ZIMMERMAN, 'Armenian Church', p. 647; CONYBEARE, *Rituale*, p. 446; MEARNES, *Canticles* p. 31.

persistence of a numerical designation for the Armenian Sunday. As has been noted, it did not need to be called the Lord's Day without a numerical alternative until almost modern times. On the other hand, the Armenians had kept up both the ceremonies which had given Sunday the dominical status entitling it to its claim of unquestioned pre-eminence. The *agape* continued to be celebrated in the congregations of the Armenian national church, either jointly with the eucharist or separately, on Sundays, as well as on other traditional occasions in the ecclesiastical calendar, after it had disappeared from Byzantine custom and in the west. And for Armenians the *agape* was especially holy: its meal included the flesh of a ritually pure animal, certainly until just before the first world war⁷⁶. It is therefore in this sense, among others, that the long history of the *octoëchos* can be understood: in the sense that it was a perpetual reminder that Sunday, when numerically denoted, had a double count, that it was the eighth day of the week as well as the first: a perpetual reminder of Sunday's pre-eminence.

The idea of an eighth day was also bound up with the idea of an eighth age. The traditional derivation of the Judaeo-Christian week was often understood to have an eschatological meaning. The six days of creation were supposed to foreshadow, or prefigure, six "ages" each of a thousand years, on an interpretation of Psalms XC.4, "a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past", repeated in 2 Peter III.8, "do not ignore that with the Lord a day is as a thousand years"⁷⁷. The chronology of the Old Testament was made to show that five such ages had already come and gone — the fifth had ended with the birth of Christ. The present age was the sixth, sometimes called "the age of baptism", and this age would be completed by his second coming⁷⁸. Because the world had been created in those six divine days their completion, interpreted in years, would see its end as men knew it. The second coming of Christ would bring the paradise on earth of the seventh age, the age which was prefigured in the divine sabbath of rest⁷⁹. The conclusion that both the past and the future of the existing world could not but be confined within these septenary limits for long continued to exercise a great deal of influence, as is well enough known, on Christian historiography⁸⁰, not to speak of the chiliastic escha-

76. For references to sources, see A. SHARF, 'Animal Sacrifice in the Armenian Church', *REArm*, n.s., 16(1982), 417-449.

77. See J.O. DANIELOU, 'La typologie millénariste de la semaine dans le Christianisme primitif', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 2(1948), 1-5.

78. See M. LEFEVRE, *Commentaire sur Daniel* (Paris-Tournai, 1947, SC, 14), pp. 188-189; cf. D.F. AUNE, *The Cultic Setting of Realised Eschatology in Early Christianity* (Leiden, 1972), p. 16.

79. See DANIELOU, 'Typologie', pp. 14-16.

80. See e.g. D. HAY, *Annalists and Historians* (London, 1977), pp. 27-28.

tology so popular in the middle ages, — an eschatology for which, in part, that historiography was responsible. But this was not the only conclusion to be drawn from a chiliastic interpretation of the divine days. There were those who believed that an eighth age was to follow the seventh.

Perhaps an early hint of this kind of eschatology, so far as its Christian version is concerned, was to be found in Revelations XVII.10: of seven “kings” five had already gone, the sixth was now present, the seventh had not yet come. But his coming would not bring the story of the world to its end since his reign, too, would be only temporary. The eventual coming of an eighth age was perhaps first assumed by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons (c. 140 - c. 202): it was then that those who had clung to Christ would proceed to enjoy eternal life while those who, despite the paradise of the seventh age, remained the disciples of Satan would be sent to eternal punishment⁸¹. One way in which the eighth age would come was described by Lactantius in his *Divine Institutions*: the first six millenia had been a period in which wickedness had predominated and still did⁸². In the seventh millenium Satan would be bound and Christ would reign⁸³. But, towards its end, Satan would escape, and it would only be at the beginning of the eighth millenium that he would finally be overcome. And then there would be created a new and perfect world⁸⁴. Sometime, too, during the third century, in a Christian version of the Sibylline Oracles, there was a rather obscure reference to an eighth age when a world would “again” appear which would be “another world”⁸⁵. The same belief that it would be an eighth age which would bring finality, perfection, was symbolised in the Armenian *octoēchos* just as the eighth day was said to have been. The seven subsections of each canon stood for the seven ages. Its canticle — the canticle without which the whole canon was incomplete — stood for an eighth age, “the age of resurrection”⁸⁶, just as Sunday, the eighth day of the week, stood for a resurrected Christ. The last canticle in the series, the third chapter of Habakkuk, has been interpreted as one of the many Old Testament references to a new age, but here with the creation eschatologically linked

81. *S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis et Martyris Contra Haereses* V. 28, 3 (PG 7, col. 1200A and n. 61 (col. 1200D); cf. CUMONT, ‘La fin du monde’, p. 70, n. 5.

82. *Caeli Firmiani Lactantii Divinae Institutiones* VII. 14, 10, ed. S. BRANDT, *CSEL*, vol. 19 (Vienna, 1890), p. 629.

83. *Inst.* VII. 24, 5 (BRANDT, pp. 659).

84. *Inst.* VII. 26 (Brandt, pp. 665-667).

85. «ἐν δὲ τρίτῳ κλήρω περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν ὀγδοῶδος πρώτης ἄλλος πάλι κόσμος ὀραῖται» — *Oracula Sybillana* VII. 139-140, ed. S. GEFFCKEN *Die Oracula Sybillana, Die griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* Bd. 7 (Leipzig, 1902), p. 140; cf. J. WORTLEY, ‘The Literature of Catastrophe’, *Byzantine Studies*, 4(1977), 12 and n. 29.

86. See WINKLER, ‘Armenian’, p. 498, note 137.

to it: the new age as the final triumph of the Lord of Creation⁸⁷. The choice of this canticle for the eighth section of the eighth canon suggested, therefore, that it symbolised the eighth age as that which the Lord would bring in his triumph and his glory. But none of the foregoing meant that the simple septenary sequence had been abandoned, any more than the idea of an eighth day meant that the seventh day of the week had lost all importance. On the contrary, the validity of the former was preserved, even strengthened, by the proviso that the existing world, still not made quite perfect even by Christ's second coming, would first have to be wholly destroyed before the truly perfect world of the eighth age could be created. For the writer of a seventh century Syrian work, usually known as the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, the destruction would, indeed, be final. But it is likely that his cataclysmic conclusion derived more from the destruction of his own world during the Arab invasion of Syria, than from a rejection of the possibility of an eighth age in his eschatology⁸⁸. For Lactantius, the destruction of the present world was a necessary stage in the millenary sequence⁸⁹. It was his version of the common belief that the final reign of Christ would have to be preceded by the reign of an anti-Christ. The importance of his eighth age was the symbolic meaning attached to it: just as the sabbatical week could, in its Christian version, acquire an eighth day in honour of Christ's resurrection, so could the seven ages, prefigured as the week was said to be, in the divine days of creation and their seventh day of rest, acquire an eighth age in honour of his final victory over the forces of evil. In some sense the eucharist itself, the sacrament peculiar to the seventh day which was also the eighth, anticipated this final eschatological unity which would be fully and permanently realised in that eighth age, the age of the *parousia*⁹⁰.

The same sequence of a disturbed seventh age followed by the eternal peace of the eighth appeared in later Byzantine texts. A tenth century biography of St Andreas Salos placed the birth-pangs of the last days, in this instance the destruction of Constantinople heralding the reign of Anti-Christ, in the seventh age, at the end of which the reign of Christ would begin⁹¹. Eventually, the Russian Orthodox Church took over the same eschatology. The seven days of creation stood for the seven ages. But, in

87. See IRWIN, 'The Psalm', p. 39.

88. See CUMONT, 'La fin du monde', p. 73.

89. Inst. VII.26, 5 (BRANDT, p. 666); cf. CUMONT, 'La fin du monde', p. 93.

90. Cf. AUNE, *Cultic Setting*, p. 17.

91. *Nicephori Presbyteri Constantinopolitani S.Andreae Sali Vita* XXVI (PG 111, col. 865A-B); cf. L. RYDÉN, 'The Andreas Salos Apocalypse', *DOP*, 28(1974), 209-210, 221.

this context, *nedela*, in its first meaning, instead of standing for Sunday as the seventh day, stood for the eighth age — “the end of days”. So firm was this conviction that the ordinary world would end when that age was about to begin that tables for determining the date of Easter were compiled only up to the year 7000 of the Orthodox era⁹². Why did the belief that the eighth age rather than the seventh would bring the millenium persist in Byzantine literature and beyond? An obvious reason was that had it been the seventh, signs of the millenium should have begun to appear from about the middle of the sixth century when, according to the traditional date for the birth of Christ, the sixth age, the “age of baptism”, had ended and the seventh age had begun: when “time was fulfilled” and the Kingdom of God was at hand⁹³. And so when, according to Orthodox computation, there were no signs of the millenium at the beginning of the eighth age either, the Russian Orthodox Church in effect abandoned any idea of a definite date⁹⁴. On the other hand, it ought not to be forgotten that, already in patristic literature, all these computations, whether septenary or octenary, could already be dismissed as mere stories unworthy of credence — whatever their authority⁹⁵.

The idea of the eighth age as the perfect age was not confined to Christian eschatology. Examples of it also occur in Jewish sources. Thus, in one version of an apocalyptic work known as *The Book of Enoch* (the *Ethiopian Enoch* or *I Enoch*), occurred passages, probably compiled between 95 and 70 BC⁹⁶, where the years since the Babylonian Exile covered seven “weeks” or ages, of which the present age, the seventh, and its predecessor were especially wicked⁹⁷. But, after these weeks of wickedness,

“... there shall be another, the eighth week of righteousness,
 And a sword shall be given it that a righteous judgement may
 be executed on the oppressors,
 And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous,
 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their
 righteousness,
 And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for
 evermore”⁹⁸.

92. See FLIER, ‘Sunday’ p. 144.

93. See WORTLEY, ‘Literature’ p. 12; S.G.F. BRANDON, *History, Time and Deity* (Manchester & New York, 1965), pp. 151, 193.

94. See FLIER, p. 145.

95. *Eusebii Pamphylis Caesariensis Historia Ecclesiastica* III. 39 (PG 20, col. 300A-B).

96. See R.H. CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1912), p. 222.

97. CHARLES, *op. cit.*, p. 231; cf. R.T. BECKWITH, ‘The Modern Attempt to Reconcile the Qumran Calendar with the Solar Year’, *Revue de Qumran*, 7(1969-1971), 391.

98. Enoch 91:12-13 (CHARLES, *Book of Enoch*, p. 232).

And this eighth week would lead up to a final judgement and the creation of a new world⁹⁹. Here too, therefore, the number eight marked the transition from one "conceptual stage" to another, the transition from history, if in an allegorical and mystical form, to explicit eschatology: the setting up of the messianic kingdom¹⁰⁰. The analogy with the Christian eschatology of an eighth age is, of course, far from exact. The Old Testament chronology is quite different: in the traditional Christian septenary sequence, whether followed by an eighth age or no, the end to the Babylonian Exile brought the beginning of the fifth time unit, be it called a millenium or a "week", not the seventh. Enoch's seventh week of wickedness stood in direct contradiction to the seventh age of a sabbatical paradise, whether temporary or permanent. But on the main point Enoch's eschatology did not differ from Christian successors. The last age in his sequence, as in theirs, his last "week", was his eighth. It was then that good would finally triumph over evil. Moreover, the approach of that last "week" was described much as the approach of his last age was to be described by Lactantius. According to Enoch, before that eighth week came,

"... the days shall be shortened,
 And all things on earth alter,
 And shall not appear in their time,
 And the rain shall be kept back,
 And the heavens shall withhold it
 And in these times the fruits of the trees shall be backward,
 And shall not grow in their time
 And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time¹⁰¹.

According to Lactantius, the destruction of the old world as a preface to the creation of the new would be signalled by a constriction of natural phenomena or by its decay: the years, the months and the days would get shorter, vegetation scarcer, farm animals skinnier¹⁰². And just as this slowing down of natural processes, their weakening, their deterioration, were for Lactantius the prelude to the coming of the Anti-Christ, so did similar signs

99. Enoch 91.14-17 (CHARLES, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 232-234); passages not radically emended in revised translation by M. BLACK, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, (Leiden, 1985), pp. 86-87, cf. pp. 292-293.

100. See BLACK, *op. cit.*, p. 292; R.H. CHARLES, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1913), p. 264.

101. Enoch 80.2-3 (CHARLES, *Book of Enoch*, p. 171; cf. BECKWITH, 'Modern Attempt', p. 392.

102. Inst. VII. 16, 10 (BRANDT, p. 636); cf. CUMONT "La fin du monde", p. 78, note 2.

enumerated by Enoch belong to the common Jewish belief that the age of righteousness, the messianic age, would have to be preceded by an age of disasters, by what was known as "the pangs of the Messiah".

Christian octenary eschatology had two elements missing from Enoch in this version. One of them was the lack of a connection between his weeks and the divine days — unless the way in which these weeks stood for ages can be interpreted as a reference to the week of creation, though even then the contradiction of his seventh week to the sabbath would remain. The other missing element was the Christian parallel drawn between the eighth age and the eighth day of the week as both inaugurating a fresh start¹⁰³. Thus Gregory of Nazianzus linked the eighth day to the eighth age by the figure of the Pentecost. The extra day, after seven had been multiplied by itself, was not only the all-important eighth day such as that of Philo. It also prefigured the age to come¹⁰⁴. As with arguments for an eighth day, so here, recourse was had to specific passages in the Old Testament. Jewish exegesis had interpreted the passage in Ecclesiastes "Give a portion to seven and even to eight" as alluding to the seven days of creation and the eight days for the ceremony of circumcision¹⁰⁵. Just as Christian exegesis had used a parallel argument to support the idea of an eighth day, so was it used to point to a link between an eighth day and an eighth age. Such was Gregory's argument for the prefiguration of the eighth age in the Sunday which ended the Octave of Easter. As the "first" creation began functioning on the first day of the week, so did the new dispensation begin to function on the first day, which was at once the eighth, after the "second" creation — the resurrection: this was what the Preacher (i.e. *Kohelet* - Ecclesiastes) meant — the "seven" is this life, the "eight" is the future age. It was an extension of the argument for the Christian eighth day having been prefigured in the day of circumcision¹⁰⁶. Similarly, John Chrysostom, in his commentary on the opening of the sixth psalm, explained that the *octochord* stood not only for the eighth day but also for the eighth age¹⁰⁷. And it was this same passage which, in a commentary by St Basil the Great, showed that Sunday, the day of the resurrection, the day of the eucharist, was also the day of the age to come:

103. Cf. RORDORF, *Sunday*, p. 276.

104. *S. Gregorii Nazianzenis Oratio 41 in Pentecosten* ch. 2 (PG 36, col. 432A-B; cf. J. DANIELOU, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (London, 1960), p. 268.

105. TB Tractate 'Erubin 40B; cf. W. BACHER, *Die Aggada des Tannaiten* (Strasbourg, 1884), p. 156; DANIELOU, *The Bible*, p. 268 (Eccl.11.2).

106. *Gregorii Nazianzenis in Novam Dominicam V* (Oratio 44), PG 36, cols. 612C-613A; cf. DANIELOU, *The Bible*, p. 269.

107. *S. Joannis Chrysostomi in Psalmos Davidi in Octavo*, PG 56, col. 543A.

“Now, that day, ever returning upon itself, is also the eighth day, really and truly both the first and the eighth day of which the Psalmist speaks in the title of certain psalms when he means the age which will follow the ages — the day without end, the age without end”¹⁰⁸.

The Psalmist was speaking of the “Great Day”, the day the prophet Joel had called “the day of the Lord”, the day of the *ogdoād*, the day or age which followed the earthly ages of the *hebdomad*¹⁰⁹. So, too, it was an eighth age which, in the passage from St Augustine partially quoted, was also prefigured by his eighth day, that day which symbolised for him the birth of a world of eternal rest for body and soul¹¹⁰.

Neither was it by chance that in the *octoēchos* the eighth age was designated “the age of resurrection”, a clear enough reference to the doctrine that Sunday, being the day of resurrection, had also to be the eighth day. John of Odzun had no doubt that the divisions of the *octoēchos* not only pointed to the mystery of the double count but also to that of the eighth age. This was another reason, he explained, why the seven subsections of the canon were by themselves imperfect, why they had to be completed by an eighth — by a *sharakan* or hymn, as he called it, from the prophets. Just as an eighth age was prefigured in an eighth day of creation — the day, after the day of rest, when the newly created world began to function, so did that divine eighth day prefigure the eighth day of the week, the day which also signalled a new beginning: the passing over from the “seven days according to the earthly works of the flesh” to the fresh start of the Christian dispensation — the new world of the eighth day, at the same time the first¹¹¹. A comparable example of these parallels between the eighth day and the eighth age may also be found in Jewish eschatology. In contrast to the Ethiopian version of the *Book of Enoch*, where, as has been noted, no such parallel occurred, a passage in a Slavonic version (2 Enoch) explained how the eighth day was the first after the seven days of creation and how, just as the seven days signified seven thousand years, this eighth day signified “the beginning of the eighth thousand”, when there would

108. *S. Basilii Magni Liber de Spiritu Sancto* XXVII. 66 (PG 32, cols. 192A-B); ed. C.F.H. JOHNSON, *The Book of St Basil the Great on the Holy Spirit* (Oxford, 1892), p. 132; cf. DANIELOU, *The Bible*, pp. 263-266.

109. *S. Gregorii Nysseni in Psalmorum Inscriptiones Tractatus Prior* V (PG 44, cols. 504D-505A); Joel II. 11; cf. DANIELOU, *The Bible*, p. 270.

110. For reference, see notes 51 above; cf. DANIELOU, *The Bible*, pp. 276-286.

111. AUCHER, *De Officiis Ecclesiae*, p. 186 (text), p. 187 (trans.) - p. 188 (text), p. 189 (trans).

begin "a time of not counting, endless, with neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours"¹¹². But neither the original source nor the date of this passage has been determined: the possibility that it was a Christian interpolation cannot be ruled out¹¹³.

Just as an eight-day cycle with its eighth day of special importance was to be found outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition, so was the idea of a perfect eighth age associated, in one way or another, with an eighth day. Thus, in Babylonian ideas of the past and the future the duration of the universe was supposed to span seven "great years" or ages, each consisting of a thousand calendar years and succeeding one another in an ascending ladder or progressive sequence. Each of the seven had its *chronocrator*, that is one of the seven planets for its ruling influence. The whole hebdomad of great years was called a "cosmic year", at the end of which all the planets would have returned to the same position they had been in at the beginning¹¹⁴. But, after that cosmic hebdomad, there would follow an eighth great year, above the ladder, outside the orbits of the planets, where it would be ruled only by the fixed stars¹¹⁵. At that eighth stage, above the ladder of the seven great years, time itself, like planetary rule all-powerful until then over the world, was said to become timeless: to "imitate eternity"¹¹⁶. And then, planetary juxtapositions at particular moments in time, previously decisive for events on earth, would cease to have any meaning since the world had escaped out of time. The idea of such an eighth stage contradicted what might be called "orthodox" astrological doctrine, according to which one cosmic year was supposed to be followed by another identical in every respect with its predecessor, that is with its planetary juxtapositions and influences exactly repeated, *ad infinitum*¹¹⁷. The particular interest here of this Babylonian sequence is that it can be seen as analogous to the system of planetary days — even if the planets be in a reverse order¹¹⁸ — with an additional eighth unit — an "eighth day" — when, as opposed to the vicissitudes of planetary rule, there would be no more change because

112. See CHARLES, *Apocrypha*, p. 451; VAILLANT, text, p. 102, 104, trans. p. 103, 105; F.I. ANDERSEN, "2(Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch", *The Pseudepigraphia of the Old Testament* vol. 1 (London, 1983), p. 157.

113. See ANDERSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97, as against VAILLANT, Introduction, pp. X-XI.

114. See A. BOUCHÉ - LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie grec* (Paris, 1895), pp. 315-316.

115. See CUMONT, 'La fin du monde', p. 55.

116. *Proclii Commentarius in Platonis Timaeum* 38C, ed. C.E.C. SCHNEIDER (Bratislava, 1847), p. 615D-E; cf. *Ambrosii Macrobiani Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* I. 8, 7, ed. J. WILLIS (Leipzig, 1963), p. 35; CUMONT, *Textes et Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 86.

117. See BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Astrologie grec*, p. 33, note 1.

118. See COLSON, *The Week*, p. 19.

the sole rule would be that of the changeless stars. Seen thus, this sequence of great years completed by an eighth is comparable to the Christian of the six divine days of creation of a thousand years each, first temporarily completed, as these stages of planetary rule were said to be, by a seventh such divine day and then, finally, by an eighth — when soul and body, untroubled by earthly vicissitudes, would attain eternal rest. It would be the final achievement of the divine plan for the salvation of mankind conceived, as it was said, before the sequence of ages had begun, from its enslavement to the planetary powers¹¹⁹.

Mithraism had its septenary-octenary eschatological sequences very like the Babylonian. In them, too, there was a ladder, this one with seven doors at seven levels, and then, above it, an eighth. This ladder, together with the level above it, represented the progress of the souls of men through the seven spheres, that is through the orbits of the seven planets, upwards into the eighth sphere, the sphere of the fixed stars. There they would be freed from planetary rule and pass into the domain of the "eternal heavens", that is into changeless eternity. Variations of this idea of a seven-runged ladder rising to the perfection of an eighth level, were commonplace in classical astrology as distinct from the idea of an unrepeated cosmic year¹²⁰. Mithraic stages in the progress of men on earth also followed the Babylonian sequence. Stages under planetary rule occupied seven millenia. The first six, beginning with that ruled by Saturn, were times of trouble, the seventh was the least troubled since it was under the rule of the sun. An eighth millennium followed during which the planets ceased to hold away¹²¹. Individual lives went through a similar sequence. They were said to be divided into distinct periods of seven years, much as they were said to be by the Pythagoreans; the seventh was a "climactic year" or "climacteric". The eighth year, the first of a new period, inaugurated a fresh start¹²². Here again, the Mithraic *octoād*, too, be it stages in the progress of souls, in the life of men on earth, or in the particular lives of individuals, can be seen as an analogy of the planetary week, with a day for the rule of the fixed stars added. Perhaps it can even be seen as an actual application. It was Mithraism which had not only adopted the planetary week but had also greatly helped to spread its influence. This eschatology, expressed in a septenary sequence which needed an eighth unit for its fulfilment, was also to be found, though

119. See BRANDON, *History*, pp. 167-169, p. 171.

120. See BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Astrologie grec*, pp. 486-493.

121. See CUMONT, 'La fin du monde', pp. 58-61; cf. A.S. PEAKE, 'Basilides, Basilideans', *ERE*, 2(1909), 426-433.

122. See CUMONT, *Textes et Monuments* vol. 1, pp. 86-88, vol. 2(1896), p. 32; cf. ANASTOS, 'Plethon' p. 227 and p. 41 above.

with no apparent astrological element, in the doctrines of another Persian sect. Here the universe was conceived of as having been delivered for seven millenia into the power of the Lord of Darkness, but he would be forced to surrender it to the Lord of Light in the eighth¹²³. It was these parallels to Christian septenary-octenary systems which suggested a specific transmission of ideas. It has been put forward that Lactantius derived his eschatology from a certain Hystaspes, an oriental scholar who flourished at some time between 100 BC and 100 AD and was familiar with such systems¹²⁴. Indeed, if some such transmission be not supposed, the parallels between the Persian or Babylonian *octoāds* and the ages of Christian eschatology do become difficult to explain. But the question of transmission does not affect the closeness of these parallels, nor the closeness of the link between these eight ages and the double count for Sunday. Thus, while the analogous link between an astrological *octoād* and an astrological eight-day week must remain conjectural, it is reasonable to see these millenary systems, Christian and pagan alike, as relevant background for a discussion of the assertion that a Christian Sunday could not but be at once the first and the eighth day of a Christian week.

However, a distinction needs to be drawn between these Christian and pagan *octoāds*, whether counted in days or in millenia. On the one hand, both the Christian and the pagan kind were intended to serve as a key to the explanation of events, past, present, and still to come. But the *octoāds* themselves did not exist in spite of the strongest belief in them. They remained imaginary: they corresponded to no real units of time nor, except in their day the *nundinum* and the Ethiopian system mentioned, were the *octoāds* meant to be new units of time by which the passage of time was to be reckoned in practical terms. The double count for Sunday could not alter the Christian calendar, any more than an eighth day added to the days of creation could alter the sabbatical week, or planetary days, with or without one for the sphere of the stars, could become a substitute for the Kalends, the Nones and the Ides. On the other hand, the Christian *octoād*, when applied to the days of the week, was left with a practical difficulty. In order that its double count might be logically acceptable even if bound to remain mysterious, it had somehow to be made compatible with the week: the real, existing unit of time, common to both Christians and Jews, the

123. See CUMONT, '*La fin du monde*', p. 49, n. 3 for references to systems of world ages, see also B. LINCOLN, *Myth, Cosmos and Society* (Harvard, 1986), p. 217 n. 24, p. 218, n. 26.

124. See H. WINDISCH, *Die Orakel Hystaspes*, (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afeeding Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XXVIII, no. 3, Amsterdam, 1929, p. 100; cf. pp. 44-46; on the dates, see p. 70; cf. CUMONT, '*La fin du monde*', pp. 68-70.

unit which could not well be abandoned. This was a difficulty with which pagan propagators of an *octoād* were not confronted. To make the Christian *octoād* acceptable, it was necessary to consider afresh the concepts supposed fundamental to the structure of the week as of all time units: authority, observation and custom. The week had, as it were, to be freed from the restriction imposed on it by this combination if Sunday was to achieve its desired pre-eminence. This was why an eschatological argument was chosen. Once that argument was used, only authority was left, the authority of the exegetics: observation and custom became irrelevant. Yet, for all that, according to John of Odzun, Sunday as the eighth day of the week did have its place in a real calendar, the liturgical calendar of the Armenian Church, in as much as it gave universal meaning to the *octo-ēchos*, the sequence of psalms and canticles otherwise wholly peculiar to the night office of the Armenians.

JEWS IN BYZANTIUM

A. BACKGROUND

THE "DARK AGES," however appropriate a term for the West during the three centuries before the First Crusade, is inapplicable to the Byzantine Empire, that is, to the lands ruled from Constantinople: Asia Minor, Greece, parts of the Balkans and South Italy.¹ The economy remained vigorous there, the administration efficient, the level of education high. Byzantium, which had had to absorb quantities of barbarian Slavs and to lose important territories to the Arabs, had not suffered as had Rome from her invaders. Her agriculture was not seriously affected, the population of her towns, instead of declining, probably increased. As the chaos in the West deepened, commercial interests moved eastward and Byzantium began to enjoy a new prosperity solidly based on trade. Soon her gold currency became the only reliable medium of exchange in the Mediterranean world and beyond.

Healthy finances meant a healthy administration. Byzantium could afford a professional civil service and a standing army. As a result, the central organs of government remained able to supervise the daily necessities of the population. The machinery of law, the state of the roads and of the food supply, the level of prices and wages, were all, directly or indirectly, the concern of the state. There was no need for the cumbersome methods that were being developed in the West. There was no function for an elaborately graded aristocracy to be rewarded by land and privileges for the performance of particular duties. Until the end of our period, there was nothing comparable to the feudal magnate, and the power of the Emperor, although challenged, remained unimpaired.

One result was the avoidance of that political disintegration which was afflicting much of Europe; the other and more important one, in the present context, was that the social consequences of the feudal method also had no chance to develop. No hereditary classes arose, each with its ordained tasks and responsibilities. The civil service might have its hier-

archy, those nearest the ruling dynasty might have their wealth and their influence, but the mass of the people retained a social mobility based upon a measure of political equality. Indeed, in Constantinople and in other big towns relations were frequently reminiscent of the Greek city-state or of Rome in the early days of the Republic.

Economic prosperity and a flourishing urban life encouraged a high degree of literacy, not confined, as in the West, to the clergy. In consequence, the Emperor in a dispute with the Church could look to the support of an educated laity with an informed interest in the finer points of theology and a disinclination to be overawed by ecclesiastical authority. It was this circumstance, as much as the strength of secular institutions, which prevented the Church from becoming a rival to the state. And it was her secular institutions, with the Emperor at their head, which gave Byzantium her long periods of stability — while, in the West, it was the Church which added to the feudal disorder.

These characteristics of Byzantium have their foundations in the 7th century. The dynasty of Heraclius and, especially, Heraclius himself (610-641) after his hard-won victory over the Persians in 630, introduced changes intended to secure the Imperial frontiers. These changes were based upon an agrarian reform and a reorganisation of the provinces which produced an army recruited from small landowners and controlled from the capital.² The economy was encouraged and the power of the Emperor firmly established. The Heracleians were able not only to preserve the Empire after Syria, Palestine and Egypt had fallen and Constantinople had been besieged, but also to preserve their own authority against encroachments. The struggle against Islam and threats to Imperial sovereignty were the twin dangers which faced Byzantium for the next three hundred years, which she overcame on the whole, successfully, and which conditioned much of her external and internal policy. Leo III (717-741), the founder of the Syrian (or Isaurian) dynasty, finally halted the Arab onslaught which had again reached Constantinople. The next critical period came about a hundred years later when Michael III the Amorian (842-867) launched the first serious counter-attack. His successor, Basil I the Macedonian (867-886), set Byzantium upon a path of conquest which culminated a hundred years later with the recapture of Antioch and other towns in Syria and northern Palestine.

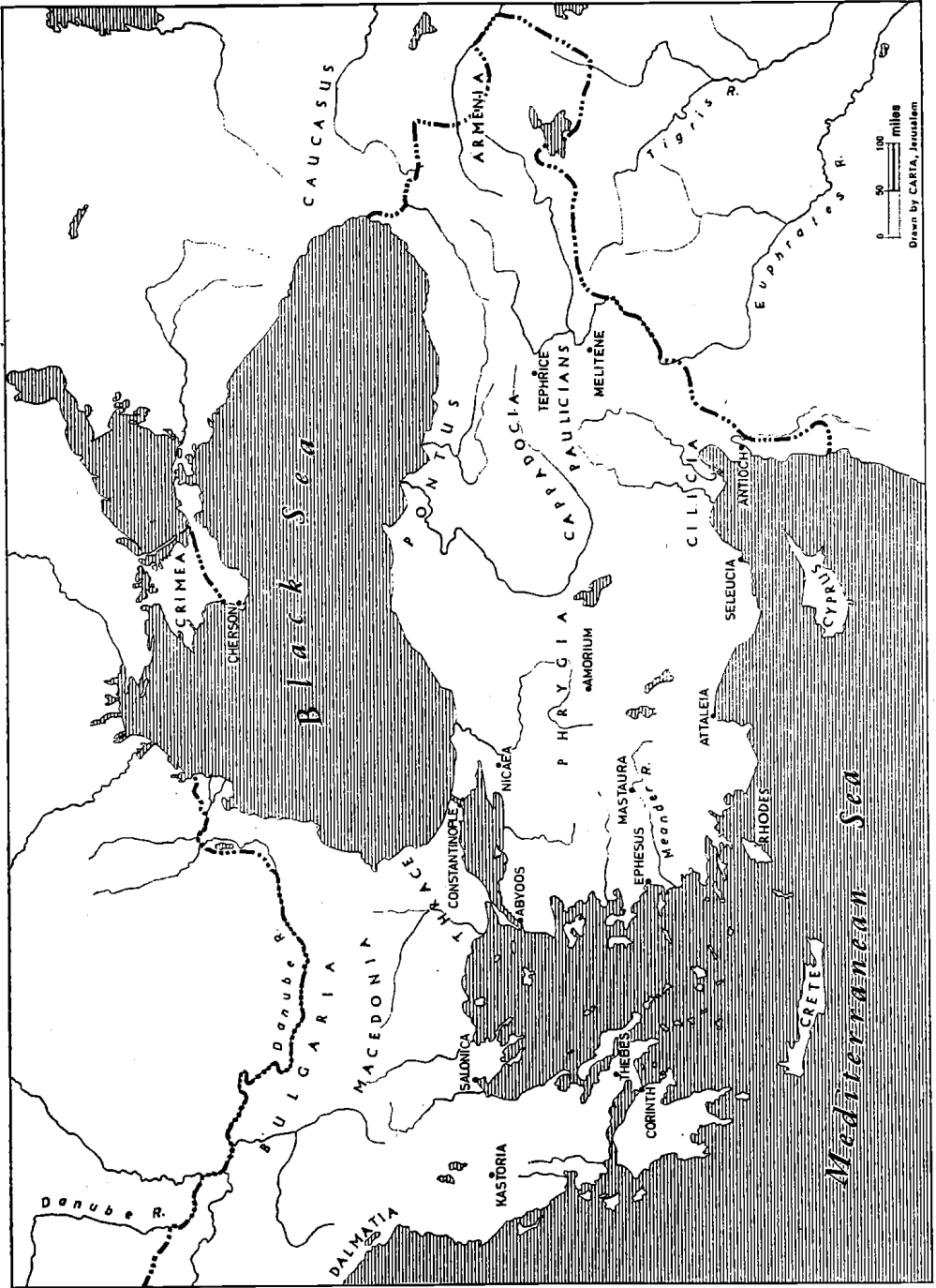
During the same period, the Emperors showed their strength in other ways. The pictures of Jesus and of the saints, by then traditional in the churches, were forbidden by the Isaurians. They were brought back in 843. Both iconoclasm and its abolition were Imperial decisions. Both had lay

and ecclesiastical support and opposition. Neither developed into a conflict between spiritual and secular loyalties or disrupted the underlying Byzantine unity. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the Emperor himself was a believing Christian, for whom this unity was as much religious as political. His decisions were intended to strengthen the Church whose head and defender he was. The Heracleians persecuted those who would not accept their formula to end an old dispute about the trinity. The Isaurians persecuted icon-worshippers, the Amorians their opponents. The Macedonians fought bloody wars against various Manichean sects. There was no mercy to the heretic, but the Emperor decided who the heretic was. The pre-eminence of the secular power did not imply tolerance in religious matters.

A more serious danger than any in the religious sphere arose in the 10th century. The Macedonians had to fight a hard struggle against repeated attempts to destroy the foundations of Byzantine economic and military security through the acquisition of great estates, that is, the liquidation of the smallholdings and the control of the soldiers settled upon them. They were successful for a time. The end came about the middle of the 11th century. The Heracleian system at last gave way under the onslaughts of ambitious generals. Great landowners, of semi-feudal independence, began to appear on the scene, and with them profound changes in the whole structure of Byzantine society. New enemies completed the process. The Normans in the Western parts of the Empire, the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor, finally the Normans again in the guise of Crusaders, succeeded where earlier invaders had failed. They destroyed the Empire's basic unity and prosperity. The Byzantium that continued, in one form or another, was very different, and the city that fell to the Ottomans in 1453 had but a symbolic connection with the Constantinople of Heraclius and Basil. Thus the First Crusade marks the end of a definite stage. On the other hand, the typically Byzantine institutions antedate the period covered by this volume, and it is in the 7th century that this survey will have to start.

B. BYZANTINE JEWRY

Byzantine Jewry in the 7th century, just as the Byzantine Empire itself, exhibited both continuity with the Roman period and the influence of new factors. First, there was physical continuity. The preservation of urban life meant also the preservation of the main centers of Jewish population. There are no statistics or other demographic information for this period. It is usually inferred, from far later references, that in the areas left to Byzantium after the Arab conquests there were about 100,000 Jews.³ In



The Byzantine Empire in early 11th Century showing Centers of Byzantine Jewry

any case, there is reason to suppose that the established communities remained as in Roman times. Thus, for example, in Phrygia (Central Anatolia) the Jews formed an important element.⁴ They continued to live in other parts of Asia Minor, particularly in the towns on the Mediterranean coast.⁵ The greatest number was, of course, to be found in Constantinople. Even in Greece, which had suffered worst from Slav incursions, the towns were hardly affected: the Jews of Salonica, for example, have an unbroken history.⁶ There were Jews in Rhodes⁷ and in Cyprus.⁸ The story of Italian Jewry is treated as a whole elsewhere in this volume: it need only be noted here that the Jews of Byzantine Italy were characterized by the same continuity of settlement.

Secondly, there was legal continuity. The status of the Jews had been established by Christian Rome in the 5th century, when the Emperor Theodosius II had introduced specific regulations into his codification of the laws. The community was legally recognized, albeit in no friendly manner, and its religious worship officially protected.⁹ In the 6th century, the Emperor Justinian, while showing rather more hostility, notably by his interference with the liturgy, left the basic situation unaltered. And it remained unaltered in the 7th century. In fact, the next Imperial compilation of the laws after Justinian, the *Ecloga* ("Selections") of Leo III, makes no mention of the Jews at all.¹⁰ This preservation of legal status was of great importance then and later. The Christian heretic in Byzantium had no legal status whatsoever. The Jew, formally at least, had the protection of the law. However harsh the disabilities that such protection might include, and however meaningless at certain moments it might even turn out to be, it declared his acceptance, albeit grudgingly, into the social structure.

C. THE BEGINNING OF A NEW POLICY: FORCED BAPTISMS

The 7th century furnished the first instance of this sort of situation. Heraclius became convinced that the Jews of Jerusalem had helped the Persians and had enthusiastically initiated a mass slaughter of Christians that had followed its fall.¹¹ During his campaign of reconquest, he is said to have accepted the hospitality of a certain Benjamin of Tiberias and to have promised, in return, that he would take no revenge. But in 630, when Jerusalem was again in Byzantine hands, the entire community was expelled,¹² and many were murdered with the acquiescence of the authorities.¹³ In 632, Heraclius ordered the conversion of all Byzantine Jewry.¹⁴ A frequently repeated tradition has it that he also called upon Western rulers to follow his example, and that his actions were the result

of a misinterpreted prophecy about a circumcised race threatening the existence of Christendom.¹⁵ There is no reason to doubt that superstitious fears, of one kind or another, could influence the behavior of a Byzantine Emperor. But these persecutions had a wider significance, whatever their immediate causes may have been. First, the events of 630-632 were in consonance with the general policy of Heraclius. The keynote of his reforms was the strengthening of Imperial unity. The Jews were politically dangerous: they had helped the Persians and now a new foe had crossed the Imperial frontier and had defeated Imperial troops. It is probable that the Jewish share in Persian successes had been much exaggerated, while a readiness to welcome the Moslems was by no means likely.¹⁶ Nevertheless it was this conviction of Jewish disloyalty which led Heraclius to actions very similar to those which he and his successors took, also from fears of disloyalty, against dissident Christian sects.

For the Jews, however, the forced baptisms were something new. It was not the first time that Christian hostility had resulted in rioting and murder in the Byzantine Empire. In 547, there had been a massacre of Jews and Samaritans at Caesarea.¹⁷ In 592, the Jews were expelled from Antioch,¹⁸ and there were anti-Jewish riots in other Syrian cities.¹⁹ Between 608 and 610 a wave of pogroms spread from Syria to Asia Minor.²⁰ Thus the events of 630 were only part of a series. But the decree of forced baptism was a different matter. This was the first time that the authorities appeared to attack the legal status which the Jews had hitherto enjoyed. The 7th century, a turning point in Byzantine history, was equally a turning point for them. Just as there was then established a political and social framework which lasted fundamentally unchanged for nearly four hundred years, so there appeared then the factors which, during the same period, fixed the position of the Jews within that framework. The natural conclusion about this new stage might be that the new, centralized Byzantine state would never again permit the existence of any religious minority. This was true of the Christian dissident groups. It is important to emphasize that, so far as the Jews were concerned, this is precisely what did not happen. Heraclius' fears of Jewish treachery did not last for long. The attempts at forced conversion were sporadic. The community of Constantinople itself was least disturbed.²¹ In other words, the idea that the Jews constituted the same sort of danger as did the heretics simply did not take root.

There is a striking illustration of how the Heracleian persecutions failed to influence existing relations between Jews and Gentiles. There is evidence that, despite the outbreaks of hostility, the Jews led no isolated existence but took an active part in city life. Before the Heracleian period, the focus

of the city had been the Hippodrome or Circus with its chariot races, not only in Constantinople but also in other centers. At least from the 5th century, the supporters of the two contending teams of charioteers, distinguished by their colors of green or blue, had been organized into groups of an unmistakably political character.²² Their dissensions were fought out in the streets; when they united, they became a serious threat to the government.²³ At the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th centuries, Jews were active members of these "circus parties."²⁴ It may be that the riots at Antioch were more of a party clash than an outbreak of violent antisemitism,²⁵ and it is possible that the situation in Jerusalem on the eve of its capture by the Persians was similarly a party responsibility in which Jews, as party members, were involved and for which they naturally got the blame.²⁶ By the middle of the 7th century, the Hippodrome had lost its importance. Jerusalem and Antioch had fallen to the Arabs. In Constantinople, the Heracleians, as part of their plan to strengthen Imperial authority, succeeded in suppressing the circus parties. But the people of Constantinople remained an important political factor. In 641, they influenced the choice of a successor to Heraclius. In 661, for reasons unknown, they stormed and looted the church of St. Sophia. On both occasions, Jewish participation was prominent.²⁷ At the end of the century, the closeness of the relations between Jews and Gentiles was disapprovingly noted by a Council of the Church.²⁸

A measure of social integration, expressed in various ways, remained a basic characteristic of Byzantine Jewry. The other aspect was the precedent set by the persecutions. No echo is to be found in legislation. The status of the Jew remained unaltered. But the possibility now existed that the government could, for limited periods, entirely ignore this. It is this kind of ambiguity which is the characteristic legacy of the Heracleians, with consequences not only for the Jews: a generally stable and law-abiding administration, capable of a sudden dictatorial act in the face of some real or imaginary danger.

D. THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER LEO III

The early years of Leo III provide another example of such an eruption in Byzantine society. In 721/22, an Imperial decree once again ordered all Jews to be baptized.²⁹ The external circumstances are comparable to those of the Heracleian persecution. Byzantium had again survived a fierce Moslem onslaught. The coming to power of the new dynasty had been accompanied by a period of confusion which had seen the rise and fall of

six Emperors. Once again, the attack on the Jews can be linked with an effort to strengthen Imperial authority by crushing all potentially dissident elements. Leo's iconoclastic decrees four years later, whatever their theological or social significance, had the same political purpose as the doctrinal formulae pronounced by Heraclius and his successors. Similarly Leo, like Heraclius, may have had his reasons for suspecting Jewish loyalty.

About the year 720, there had appeared in Syria a certain Severus or Serenus who claimed to be the Messiah. He himself was and remained a Christian but he gained a Jewish following. He preached an imminent return to Zion in openly political terms and was involved in some sort of revolt with a Jewish nationalist coloring. It was not long before he was killed and his followers dispersed, but his influence had by then spread westward, far beyond Syria.³⁰ Severus was no isolated phenomenon. Twenty years previously, the Persian Jew Abū 'Īsā al-Iṣfahānī had led a movement of a similar Messianic-nationalist character which provoked the anger of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705).³¹ In 645, a less important, anonymous Messiah had appeared in the valley of the Euphrates who was remembered as the "rebel of Pallughthā."³² All three, however much they differed in their religious heterodoxies, were alike in the practical expression they gave to their Messianism. And this was because all three were inspired by the conviction that the conflict between Byzantium and Islam was the final conflict. It was nothing less than the precursor of the Last Days. Both Empires would be destroyed and then the Messianic Age would begin. It was this doctrine which, towards the end of the 7th century and at the beginning of the 8th, spread to Byzantine Jewry,³³ and it was the explicitly political element in it which probably angered the Emperor as it did the Caliph. However, Leo's fears of militant Jewish dissidence, just as those of Heraclius about Jewish sympathies with Islam, were hardly justified. In the nature of things, only a very small number could have been influenced, as with any extremist ideas. But the agitation of only a tiny minority was enough to provoke a violent reaction: the Jews were a threat to the safety of the Empire, and mass baptism was the obvious answer in an age when religious conformity was thought to guarantee political reliability. It is this aspect which is apparent in the title "new citizens" given to the converts.³⁴

Of course, the decree had a wider significance. It emphasized the common Jewish experience that prosperity and good relations could exist side by side with outbursts of hostility. And it also showed that in the Empire as it was after the Heracleian reforms such outbursts were likely to be acts of state, in contrast to the mob violence of earlier periods.

The results of the decree were as limited as they had been in 632. When the storm had passed, the status of the community remained unaltered. Some Jews, as in other times and other places, had bowed before the storm, and now, too, their conversion had little meaning. In the words of one source, "they took the baptism carelessly and washed it off."³⁵ When, in 787, the Second Council of Nicaea reversed Leo's ecclesiastical policy and temporarily brought back the icons, it also took the opportunity of criticizing his method with the Jews. It proclaimed the Church's official attitude to forced conversion: the Jews must live openly according to their religion; the Church cannot accept them unless they voluntarily confess their error and turn to Christianity with willing hearts.³⁶ It may have been an undercurrent of ecclesiastical discouragement, even when the Church itself was out of favor with the Emperor, that made the decrees of both Heraclius and Leo so ineffective. In any case, the most striking characteristic that the events of 632 and 721/22 had in common was that they made so little impression on the Jews themselves. Our information on them is derived almost exclusively from non-Jewish sources. A passage in one text connected with the Messianic movement could refer to Heraclius, but there is nowhere a direct mention either of his or of Leo's decree.³⁷

E. THE REIGNS OF BASIL I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The example of Leo and the Heracleians was followed by Basil I, in whose reign there took place a further attempt to convert Jews by force. Little is known about the community during the intervening hundred and fifty years. However, there are two interesting problems belonging to this period, the answers to either of which could provide additional evidence on the closeness of the contact between the Jews and their neighbors. The first is the amount of truth in an old tradition of Jewish influence on the decision to abolish the icons. This tradition derives from the story of a Jewish sorcerer's promising Leo, before he became Emperor, victory over his rivals and a long reign, on condition that he proscribed the veneration of holy pictures throughout his dominions.³⁸ The principal reason why this story has to be treated with reserve is not so much because of its legendary qualities, but because it first gained currency during the sessions of the Second Council of Nicaea. On that occasion, as on others of theological controversy, it was normal to accuse opponents of Jewish sympathies, a circumstance which greatly complicates any just estimate of the Jewish part in non-Jewish questions. There is no doubt that the temporarily defeated iconoclasts were automatically abused in this way. However

this story may reflect something more specific. It is told in a number of versions: in one of them, the contemporary Caliph, Yazīd II (720-724), is given this promise by a Jew.³⁹ It is, in fact, about this time that various Christian religious objects of worship or veneration, hitherto unmolested, were being systematically destroyed by the Moslem authorities in Syria and Palestine.⁴⁰

Of course, there is no need to make use of a Jewish element in order to establish a link between Byzantine and Moslem iconoclasm. Leo came from an area bordering on the Eastern frontiers of the Empire. His main support was from regiments stationed there, which, according to the Heracleian system, were largely composed of the local farmers. It is likely that Islamic influences were strong. Leo himself was accused of being "Saracen-minded."⁴¹ A state of frontier raiding — or of open war — did not in the least preclude cultural penetration. On the contrary, by the 9th century, there were villages whose inhabitants had developed an extraordinary mixture of Moslem and Byzantine attitudes.⁴² Theologically, such attitudes were very likely to express themselves in the Moslem abhorrence (as strong as the Jewish) of visual representations of religious subjects. Neither Leo nor Yazīd needed Jewish encouragement in this matter. The only reason why something similar had not happened previously in Moslem territory, was that Yazīd's father, 'Abd al-Malik, was the first to achieve sufficient internal stability for projects of this kind. There is no evidence whatever of Jewish influence on Leo, apart from the obvious difficulty presented by the forced baptisms, if this influence were supposed. Nor is there any evidence of widespread Jewish missionary activity, which could have included iconoclast propaganda, as some Byzantinists have suggested.⁴³ But this tradition of Jewish influence may have another meaning. It may reflect evident Jewish participation, on both sides of the frontiers, in the actual destruction of the icons which, in Constantinople for example, immediately followed the publication of the Imperial order. In other words, it may point to another instance of contact between Jews and non-Jews amongst the urban population, a contact which, apart from the usual expressions of abuse, was the reason for that pronouncement of the Council which stigmatized all the iconoclasts as Jews.⁴⁴

The second problem arises from certain references to the Jews of Amorium in Phrygia at the beginning of the 9th century. It seems that the community was a comparatively large one, and that, as in our other examples, it was not isolated from its surroundings. In 838, on the eve of the capture of the city by the Arabs, fighting broke out between Jews and Christians.⁴⁵ All this is no more than a parallel to much which has been noted for earlier

periods. However, we are also told that, in Amorium, there had developed a Judaizing sect which kept the whole of the Mosaic Law with the exception of circumcision, and whose members invited Jews — men or women — to be their spiritual guides. The Emperor Michael II (820–829) was supposed to have been brought up in this sect.⁴⁶ In order to estimate the historical value of this story, it is necessary to understand that its main purpose was to discredit Michael, the founder of the Amorian dynasty. The main source for the 9th century, which others copied, was largely written on “Macedonian” instructions — that is, to suit the dynasty which overthrew the Amorians, and wished to justify the methods employed. The assertion of Michael’s Judaizing background, therefore, need be taken no more seriously than various other Macedonian assertions about his successors, most of which have been disproved by modern historians.⁴⁷ It should also be remembered that Michael, although more moderate than Leo, was an iconoclast. Thus the whole story must be treated with caution, but, as in our first example, this does not mean that it has to be entirely rejected.

What has been mentioned is all that is known about the Jews of Amorium in our period. It is desirable, however, to study this description of a Judaizing sect more closely. Jewish law has always given specific recognition to one who has accepted some of its requirements but has not been willing to go the whole way to conversion. The precise commitments of the former have been very much disputed. They seem to have varied from an acceptance of all the six hundred and thirteen commandments with the exception of circumcision, to a simple observance of the Noachic laws. The custom of such a sympathizer’s being in the care of a Jewish family was also well established.⁴⁸ In later Roman and early Byzantine times, a cult of this sort, now an organized sect, now a vague family custom, whose main emphasis was on the Sabbath, persisted in Egypt, marked by the recurring proper name “Sambathion.”⁴⁹ It was a continuation of the Apostle Paul’s *Φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν* (=“God-fearers”), who, as a matter of fact, were often Phrygians, forming a chapter in that province’s long history of Judeo-Hellenic, then Judeo-Christian, syncretism.⁵⁰

There is a particular reason why these tendencies could have found fresh expression in 9th century Amorium. The town was a center for the Athinganians, Christian sectarians who rejected all the complexities and mysticisms of organized orthodoxy while emphasizing a puritan monotheism.⁵¹ Their preaching could prepare men’s minds for the reception of a simple faith with practical demands. To accept this possibility does not entail asserting a proseletyzing fervor on the part of Amorian Jewry. It entails the supposition of an opportunity for fundamental Jewish ideas to

circulate among non-Jews; once again, in other words, the absence of a social barrier between the two communities — which need not by any means imply uniformly friendly relations.

Under the Macedonians, the last dynasty to concern us, the Jews suffered twice — at the hands of Basil I and of Romanus I Lecapenus (920–944). The reasons for these outbreaks are less clear than in our previous two examples. It is true that both Basil and Romanus were involved in wars with the Arabs which had their critical moments, but the period as a whole is marked by Byzantine successes. In any event, the Empire was never in the danger it had been between 630 and 717. The struggle against Islam and the preservation of Imperial unity certainly continued to be the two basic problems in the Macedonian Age, explaining much in Byzantine policy, including the unceasing endeavor to eliminate potentially disruptive elements. The Macedonian decrees against the Jews must, therefore, unquestionably be connected with the wars, not only on the Eastern frontiers, but also in Byzantine Italy where the Arabs had by then become a dangerous enemy.⁵² But this is not the whole explanation. War with the Arabs was, after all, the normal state of affairs.

Basil had a particular reason for feeling sensitive about religious dissension. He had to deal with the Paulicians, a Christian sect which was an important element in the syncretic tendencies we have noted. It was active in Phrygia, and, because its doctrine, too, was a fanatically puritan monotheism, it was, in fact, often confused with the Athinganians in the sources.⁵³ But it had another aspect. It was largely recruited from soldiers who often fought, and sometimes defeated, the regular troops sent against them. In 840, the Paulicians established a virtually independent frontier state half in Byzantine, half in Arab territory, considerably strengthening the interpenetration of Christian and Moslem influences. At the beginning of Basil's reign they allied themselves with the Emir of Melitene. A joint Paulician-Arab force marched through Asia Minor almost to Ephesus, before its destruction in a long and bloody campaign. It is likely that the vague connection inevitably made by the authorities between Jews, Moslems and heretics, particularly of the Athinganian-Paulician type, here led to the further conclusion that such syncretism was not only theologically deplorable but also practically extremely dangerous. The other motive that Basil may have had was his interest to stand well with the Church. He had to prove that, despite his humble origins (his career began in the Imperial stables) and his path of treachery and murder to the throne, he was a true Emperor with the theological abilities of his predecessors. He appointed and demoted patriarchs. He confirmed Byzantine ecclesiastical

domination in Bulgaria, Macedonia and on the Dalmatian coast.⁵⁴ It is possible that he wished to show a similar success in Jewish affairs.

Mindful of the Church's hesitations about the use of force, he began by persuasion. We learn both from the principal Greek source for the period, and from an interesting Italian Jewish source, the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, that debates were arranged at which leading rabbis were invited to defend their religion. And there were promises of material benefits should they be convinced by their opponents and freely accept baptism for themselves and their communities.⁵⁵ It would certainly have been an impressive triumph if Basil had succeeded where centuries of Christian polemic had failed. Such a motive is an understandable one for the whole enterprise. It was when persuasion brought no results that the decree of forced baptism was issued, probably in 874.⁵⁶ It is reasonable to assume that attempts to apply the decree were made throughout the Empire. Its immediate consequences are only known for Byzantine Italy, where some seem to have been compelled to a show of Christian practices.⁵⁷ The long-term consequences were exactly the same before. The great legal compendium of the period, the *Basilica*, made no fundamental changes in what Justinian had to say about the Jews — it continued to recognize and, in some sense even protect, their religious and communal existence. The converts, in Italy and elsewhere, returned to Judaism as quickly as they could.⁵⁸

How long did the decree theoretically remain in force? The *Chronicle of Ahimaaz* unequivocally states that the Emperor Leo VI, Basil's son and successor, explicitly annulled it. Exactly the same statement is made by an independent Jewish source, *The Vision of Daniel*, an interesting apocalyptic text, with references of some historical value for the 9th and 10th centuries.⁵⁹ On the other hand, a rescript of the new Emperor, part of a series probably constituting an addenda to the *Basilica*, regrets that Basil had not been thorough enough, and declares that all Jews throughout the Empire, who will not live according to the principles and practice of Christianity, will henceforth be treated as apostates. It thus not only contradicts the information given by the Jewish sources but also all that has been emphasized about the Jews' legal status.⁶⁰ There is however no confirmation anywhere of a persecution continuing in Leo's reign. The most likely explanation is that, at the beginning, Leo attempted to continue his father's policy, but quickly discarded it when he saw its ineffectiveness.

The causes of the persecution under Romanus are even harder to determine, and the actual date, too, is uncertain. It is difficult to see here a reaction to any exceptional threat similar to the events which culminated in Basil's Paulician campaign. It may be that the immediate cause is to

be found in a letter sent to Romanus from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, announcing a mass conversion of Jews there to Christianity as a result of a miraculous punishment of their boasts of victory in a Christian-Jewish debate, and calling upon the Emperor to convert the Jews of Byzantium. The approximate date of the decree can then also be inferred, since a copy of the letter was read at the Council of Erfurt in 932.⁶¹ The decree was certainly in force eleven years later. The only source to mention a definite date is the great Arab historian and geographer al-Mas'ūdī (died 956), who states that in the Year of the Hegira 332 (= 943) "the King of the Greeks at the present time Aramanūs (that is, Romanus) has converted the Jews of his kingdom to Christianity and has coerced them."⁶² In any case, the Jerusalem letter could only have been a pretext. It is unlikely that Romanus paid much attention to a distant patriarch, or treated very seriously a tale of mass Jewish conversions to Christianity in Moslem territory. Cogent reasons could be found nearer home. On more than one occasion, Romanus had been worsted in his attempts to preserve the land settlement against the encroachments of the new magnates which spelt both economic and political danger. In 927, there had been a widespread and disastrous famine. Towards the end of his reign, Romanus felt himself personally threatened. A Macedonian only by marriage, he was ruling instead of the legitimate heir, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who, in fact, engineered his removal and that of his sons.⁶³ Although there is no evidence whatsoever for a Jewish element in any of these troubles, the resulting feelings of internal insecurity could have been responsible for the persecution — just as external dangers had been responsible before.

We know that the persecution was severe, perhaps the most severe of the four. Al-Mas'ūdī tells us that, as a result, many Byzantine Jews fled to the lands of the Khazars where — as is described elsewhere in this volume — there were Jewish rulers.⁶⁴ *The Vision of Daniel* also says that Jews were driven from Byzantium, but oddly puts it in the form that Romanus "will persecute (the Jews) by means of expulsion, not by destruction but mercifully" (ויצערם בהגרשה ולא בהשחתה אבל ברחמנות).⁶⁵ However, it seems that the writer was inclined to favor the Macedonian dynasty and anyone connected with it. He mentions Basil's persecution, for instance, just as do the other sources, but to balance this, as it were, he asserts that just before it Basil had encouraged the building of synagogues.⁶⁶ There is no other mention of Romanus' "merciful" method. We know that in Italy it led to murder, imprisonment and suicide. Alone among the Emperors, Romanus gained the name of הרשע "the wicked one."⁶⁷ The persecution ended in a remarkable way. The reports of what had happened in Italy

reached the ears of Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, Jewish minister at the Court of Cordova, who wrote either to Helena, Romanus' daughter and Constantine's wife, or to Constantine himself after he had seized his rightful inheritance. In any case, the persecutions were stopped.⁶⁸ *The Vision of Daniel* speaks of Constantine in glowing terms.⁶⁹

The last hundred and fifty years before the Crusades seem to have been peaceful for the Jews. A passage in a Syriac source, at the beginning of the 11th century, speaks of the toleration and protection that the Byzantines afford the Jews in their realm. They allow them

openly to adhere to their religion, and to build their synagogues. . . The Jew . . . may say, "I am a Jew." . . . No one brings it up to him, restrains him, or puts any difficulties in his way.⁷⁰

The Vision of Daniel, in contrast to the usual apocalyptic denunciations of the two Romes — East and West — without distinction, declares that it is old Rome that will suffer in the Last Days, while the Messiah will inaugurate his rule from Constantinople.⁷¹ It has been pointed out above that this source is not impartial. But even if its excessive praise of Byzantine rule be somewhat discounted, like the optimistic description of conditions in the previous quotation, it may at least be inferred that the situation had really improved and that there were no attempts at coercion on the part of the authorities. On the contrary: we know that Jewish refugees from the persecutions of the Fāṭimid ruler al-Ḥākīm fled from Egypt to Byzantium, while the greatest of the Macedonians, Basil II (976–1025), brought a Jewish scholar from Moslem Cyprus to settle a Christian dispute about the calendar.⁷²

We may finish this historical sketch with a curious incident from the year 1096. The approach of the Crusaders had engendered a confused excitement which affected both Jews and Christians. In Salonica, there were those from both communities who saw visions. The Jews stopped work, put on their prayer shawls and, with the full approval of the Governor and the Archbishop, awaited the coming of the Messiah "in great security."⁷³ We shall discuss the implications of this story in a different context but, whatever interpretation may be put on it, it points to good relations between the Jew and his fellows.

F. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Thus Jewish life in Byzantium, during most of the period covered by this chapter, remained fixed within a legal and social framework which

four anti-Jewish outbursts left unshaken. If we wish to learn what kind of life this really was — what actually were the rights and disabilities that this framework embodied — we have to confess that our material, because of its scarcity, will not fall into any chronological order, but can only provide disparate pieces of information which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, have to be taken as valid for the whole three hundred years or so of our survey. Legal disabilities, first of all, known to us chiefly from the *Basilica*, cannot have been very burdensome. The most comprehensive one was exclusion from service in the armed forces or in any government position. The latter provision could, indeed, have had some significance. The Empire had a vast and properly functioning civil service, including many lucrative posts, very different from the shaky urban administrations of the 5th and 6th centuries in which responsibilities were often imposed as penalties.⁷⁴ Jews were forbidden to buy Christian slaves, a prohibition with little practical importance. Slavery in Byzantium, although an accepted institution and a normal item of trade, was based on prisoners of war or imports from non-Christian lands.⁷⁵ Apart from these exceptions, there were no restrictions on employment, and none on economic activities which did not affect the Christian as they did the Jew.

This situation was a reflection of the economy as a whole. Money and trade circulated freely under a certain amount of central supervision. There are two striking examples. The first is the taking of interest: forbidden in the West, it was permitted in Byzantium at a rate fixed by the government. It was an ordinary financial operation, without which trade could scarcely have flourished. There was no moral stigma attached to it and it was not left to the Jews. In fact, the biggest lender of money was often the Church.⁷⁶ The second is the sale and purchase of land. This, as we have seen, was closely connected with military security and was as strictly controlled as the Emperors could manage. The only additional restriction on the Jews was a prohibition to deal in estates belonging to the Church.⁷⁷ Nor was there any other legal bar to the possession of urban property. We are told of Jews with their own houses both in Constantinople and in the provinces.⁷⁸

Whether the Jews of Byzantium paid any special tax is a question that has never been satisfactorily answered. On the one hand, there are no references whatever in the legislation to any sort of fiscal discrimination after the reign of Justinian.⁷⁹ On the other, it seems on the face of it improbable that the widespread practice of taxing a permitted religious minority was waived by the Byzantine authorities. Nearly all the references we do have admit of more than one interpretation. Most of those, for

example, which speak of Jews being freed from taxation are ambiguous: even in such instances where remission appears as a bribe to secure converts, it is not clear whether a special Jewish tax is meant or not.⁸⁰ The letter about the Messianic excitement in Salonica could be an exception, for it may imply that, while awaiting the Last Days, the Jews were freed from two separate sorts of taxes.⁸¹ The only explicit references we have are, first, the assertion of the 9th century Persian geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih that the Jews of Byzantium paid both a head tax and a family tax and, secondly, an Imperial rescript of the year 1049 granting a monastery the proceeds of a tax on fifteen Jewish families.⁸² The silence of the legislative sources, however, suggests the conclusion that, if there was discriminatory taxation, it was no more than sporadically levied. It is difficult to believe, on the evidence, that it was standard procedure for the whole of our period.⁸³

More derogatory than any of these restrictions and discriminations, known or supposed, were the regulations of the courts which discriminated against the Jews not very differently from the custom in medieval Europe. Jews could not testify in cases involving Christians on either side. Even disputes over religious matters between Jews were subject to the over-riding authority of Imperial law and practice. Only in civil litigation between Jews could Jewish testimony before Jewish judges carry some weight.⁸⁴ Finally, it is even likely, that the oath *more judaico* — the formula to be pronounced by the Jewish party to a case — in its various versions, all with their contemptuous references to the Jewish faith, was a Byzantine invention.⁸⁵ On the other hand, as we have emphasized, the law gave the Jews its protection. The rite of circumcision was officially permitted. A Jew could not be forced to work on the Sabbath or on his Holydays. Synagogues were recognized as places of worship. They could be kept in repair and, although there was a formal prohibition against the building of new ones, it was not one which was often enforced. Violence was not to be offered to the community. A Christian was "not to disturb unoffending Jews."⁸⁶ In short, there were real rights, as well as real disabilities. The Jew was a citizen of the Empire, although a second class one. He was not loved but he was normally not interfered with. His lot was usually better than that of the Christian heretic.⁸⁷

This comparative freedom of action is well illustrated by Jewish participation in certain occupations. We know that there were Jewish physicians, apart from the famous South Italian Shabbethai Donnolo in the 10th century, for the Council of 692 attempted to discourage Christians from consulting them.⁸⁸ Much more important as an indication of the absence

of serious social obstacles, is the presence of Jews in industry, not as buyers and sellers, but as skilled artisans. There were Jewish workers in metal, Jewish finishers of woven materials, Jewish dyers and Jewish makers of silk garments.⁸⁹ The last example is especially significant. The manufacture of silk cloth and silk products was a strict government monopoly. The workers engaged in it had to belong to guilds more or less under government supervision.⁹⁰ These guilds were thus willing to admit Jews as members. The centers of the industry were at Thebes and Salonica. If we may believe our information about the latter on the eve of the Crusades, it was actually Jews working in a highly important industry who were given leave of absence to await the Messiah.

There were, of course, Jews active in commerce. But they were only one element among many and were not conspicuous. It is, indeed, not so easy to find references to their being engaged in this activity in the sources for our period.⁹¹ There is also very little evidence of social pressure, as distinct from legal enactments, to force Jews into occupations considered unpleasant or despicable. Jewish tanners do not appear before the 12th century. It is worth noting that the employment of a Jew as public executioner, a practice that probably spread to other Mediterranean countries from Byzantium, is not known before a Jew was ordered to put out the eyes of the unfortunate Emperor Romanus IV in 1072.⁹² The majority of Byzantine Jewry lived in the towns. It is precisely the preservation of urban life in the Empire, in contrast to its decay in the West, which was the basis for the community's measure of stability and social integration. But there is evidence of a similar situation in the countryside, where we find Jews actively engaged in farming, as well as Jewish owners of land.⁹³

The question arises whether these opportunities brought with them assimilation and the decline of the Jews as a community. Our only real evidence for communal life and organization in this period is confined to Byzantine Italy. Our general conclusion must be that there was no loss of Jewish identity. For example, there was no inclination to abandon the Jewish quarter (although we know of no regulation forbidding this) which in Constantinople was first in the bronze workers' district (adjacent to the present "Covered" or "Egyptian" Bazaar) and later in Pera, across the Golden Horn — more or less the center of the community until modern times.⁹⁴ Again, there is no evidence of intermarriage with those closest to Judaism, as in Amorium, where it might have been expected — although, of course, it was an offense in law.⁹⁵ If language is taken as a test of assimilation, it seems that Greek hardly encroached upon Hebrew. At least since the time of Justinian, the portions of the Law read in the synagogue had

been followed by a Greek translation. The synagogue officials were often known by the Greek titles given them by the government authorities. But it is only at a very much later period that there is any further development in this direction when, for example, the Book of Esther at Purim and the portion of the Prophets for the Afternoon Service of the Day of Atonement were both recited in Greek.⁹⁶ As far as written Greek is concerned, the only known instance at this period is a fragment of a Hebrew-Greek dictionary of Talmudic terms.⁹⁷ Greek may have been spoken, but Hebrew remained the language of the community: it was the language of private correspondence even, it seems, for the women of the family.⁹⁸

Familiarity with Hebrew did not, of course, necessarily imply Hebrew scholarship. We shall find nothing substantial, in this respect, for most of our period, if once again we exclude Byzantine Italy.⁹⁹ However, the 11th century saw the beginning of a particular intellectual activity which had more than a local interest. The community became gradually involved in disputes with the Karaites, sectarians who rejected the Oral Law — that is, the traditional Rabbinic interpretation of the Scriptures.¹⁰⁰ It is not known when, precisely, Karaism spread to Byzantium from its original Palestinian centers. It may have been during the reign of John II Tzimisces (969–976), when parts of Syria and Palestine temporarily became Imperial territory.¹⁰¹ The earliest definite reference is to the year 1028 when three Karaites were included among seven Jews captured by Arabs, and subsequently ransomed, while on a trading voyage from Attaleia (modern Antalya, west of Mersin).¹⁰² About twenty years later, we learn of the first Byzantine Karaite scholar, Tobiah ben Moses, who was born in Constantinople and educated by the Karaites of Jerusalem. He is known for his Hebrew translations of Karaite works written in Arabic, and for some liturgical poetry. Above all, he is known as the virtual founder of the whole movement in Byzantium. His lengthy commentary on the Book of Leviticus was, in fact, a full-scale polemic against orthodox or “Rabbanite” views.¹⁰³ Tobiah was the first of many who used the learning they acquired in Jerusalem to spread Karaite propaganda amongst the Byzantine Jews. Another such was Jacob ben Simeon, towards the end of the century, who on his return to Constantinople translated a work on a specially controversial question — the definition of the prohibited degrees of marriage.¹⁰⁴ About the same time, Jacob ben Reuben translated a popular compilation of basic Karaite commentaries and decisions for the benefit of his fellow-sectarians in Byzantium.¹⁰⁵ As prolonged and as bitter as the dispute between Karaites and Rabbanites over the prohibited degrees, was the dispute over the correct fixing of the liturgical calendar. Of this, too, there

is a Byzantine example near the end of the 11th century, probably from Constantinople. The dispute became so violent, indeed, that the government authorities intervened and the community was heavily fined.¹⁰⁶ However, Karaite scholarship really began to flourish in Byzantium, as did the scholarship needed for its refutation, in the following century, when a period of comparative stability succeeded the turmoils of the First Crusade. It was then that a better-known Tobiah — R. Tobiah ben Eliezer of Kastoria — devoted much of his labors to arguments against the innovators, who were growing considerably in numbers.¹⁰⁷ It was then that Byzantium became one of the important centers of the controversy, largely because its cultural and economic opportunities attracted both Karaites and Rabbanites to immigrate there from Moslem territory.

These later developments have a wider significance. They are an example of the community's general expansion. It became, eventually, one of the sources for new Jewish settlements in Russia and Poland, and continued to draw immigrants both from the East and from many Western countries. It is this which gives its comparatively obscure status during our period a fundamental historical interest. It survived both persecution and the dangers of a relatively friendly *milieu*. And it was the peculiarities of its non-Jewish background which made possible the preservation of both its own continuity in that corner of the Mediterranean and the material prosperity which provided a fertile soil for future growth and development.

NOTES

¹ For the period covered by this chapter, see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised 2nd ed. trans. by J. M. Hussey, Oxford, 1956, and New Brunswick, 1957, pp. 83-129, 134-86, 192-231, 239-79, 283-310. A useful historical outline is given by S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilisation*, London, 1961, pp. 40-51.

² For the status of the Emperors in general and the Heracleian reforms in particular, see two essays by W. Ensslin: "The Emperor and the Imperial Administration," in *Byzantium*, ed. by N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss, Oxford, 1948, pp. 268-307; and "Der Kaiser Herakleios und die Themenverfassung," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 46 (1953), 362-8. See also A. Sharf, "Heraclius and Mahomet," *Past and Present*, 9 (1956), 1-16.

³ The only population figures for Byzantine Jewry are those collected by Benjamin of Tudela in his travels about the year 1165: see *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler, London, 1907, pp. 11-4. It is likely that he counted heads of families, not individuals; cf. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204*, Athens, 1939, pp. 35-6; A. Andréadès, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire," *Economic History*, 3 (1934), 4-5. For the estimate of 100,000, see S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2nd ed.), New York and Philadelphia, 1958-60, III, pp. 322-3 note 29.

⁴ See A. Reinach, "Noé Sangariou. Étude sur le déluge en Phrygie et le syncrétisme judéo-phrygien," *REJ*, 66 (1913), 213-45.

⁵ For a survey of the references, see Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: the Formative Years, 970-1100*, New York and Jerusalem, 1959, pp. 111-9.

⁶ For the 7th century, see S. Demetrii *miracula*, PG, vol. 116, col. 1332. Cf. O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris, 1913, p. 36.

⁷ When in 654 the Arabs destroyed the Colossus of Rhodes, a Jewish merchant bought the metal for scrap: see *Theophanis*

chronographia, ed. by C. de Boor, Leipzig, I, 1883, p. 345 (8-11).

⁸ See C. Roth, "The Jews in Cyprus" (Hebrew), *Sefunot*, 8 (1964) (Itzhak Ben-Zvi Memorial Vol.), 285-7. In the long series of anti-Jewish polemic (see below, note 87) appears that of a 7th century bishop of Cyprus, Leontius. It achieved the fame of being quoted by John of Damascus (*S. Joannis Damasceni orationes*, PG, vol. 94, cols. 1272-6, 1381-8) and of being read out at the Second Council of Nicaea (in 787): see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Paris, 1900 ff. (repr. Graz, 1960 ff.), vol. 13, cols. 44-53.

⁹ *Codex Theodosianus*, 16, 8, 21-9 (*Theodosiani libri XVI* [2nd. ed.], ed. by Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, Berlin, 1954, I, pp. 892-5); cf. J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London, 1934, and Philadelphia, 1961 and 1964, pp. 233-9; F. Nau, "Deux épisodes de l'histoire juive sous Théodose II," *REJ*, 83 (1927), 184-206.

¹⁰ The relevant sections only reappear in the *Basilica* of Basil I. They, and their parallels in the Code of Justinian, together with references to the classic commentary on the latter by J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1914, may be conveniently seen in Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-7. For Justinian's rescript (*Novella* 146 of the year 553) on the reading of the Pentateuch and the Commentaries (also repeated in the *Basilica*), see J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," *HUCA*, 4 (1927), 252-9; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd ed.), Oxford, 1959, pp. 39-41, 315-7.

¹¹ *Theophanis chronographia*, I, p. 301 (1-3).

¹² *Ibid.*, I, p. 328 (15-28).

¹³ *Eutychiei Annales*, PG, vol. 111, cols. 1089-91.

¹⁴ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and trans. by J.-B. Chabot, Paris, 1899-1910 (repr. Brussels, 1963), II, p. 414. The correct date was fixed by J. Starr, "St.

Maximos and the Forced Baptism at Carthage in 632," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 16 (1940), 192-3.

¹⁵ On this tradition and on Heraclius' letter to Dagobert, king of the Franks, see J. Starr, "Byzantine Jewry on the Eve of the Arab Conquest," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 15 (1935), 288 note 41.

¹⁶ On these exaggerations, see P. Peeters, "Un nouveau ms arabe du récit de la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 38 (1920), 147 note 1; on the hostile relations which by the year 627 had developed between Jews and Moslems, see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1964, pp. 116-7.

¹⁷ *Theophanis chronographia*, I, p. 230 (5-8).

¹⁸ Agapius of Menbidj, *Kitab al-'Unwan*, ed. and trans. by A. Vasiliev, Paris, 1912 (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 8), pp. 439-40.

¹⁹ John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Third Part, trans. by R. Payne Smith, London, 1860, pp. 209, 216-21.

²⁰ Starr, "Byzantine Jewry on the Eve of the Arab Conquest," *loc. cit.*, pp. 283-5.

²¹ According to extant evidence, attempts to enforce the decree were confined to North Africa and Palestine: see the anonymous text *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. by N. Bonwetsch, Berlin, 1910 (*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philolog.-hist. Klasse, N.S., XII, 3), p. 1; and the material discussed by A. Marmorstein, "Les signes du Messie," *REJ*, 52 (1906), 181-6. Cf. Starr, "Byzantine Jewry on the Eve of the Arab Conquest," *loc. cit.*, pp. 288-9. A passage in *Doctrina* (p. 90) and in a hagiographic source with a similar subject—*Historia conversionis Abramii Judaei (Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. 12, cols. 762-9)—suggests that Jewish life in Constantinople was not seriously affected.

²² Among the copious literature on this subject, the best exposition is still by G. Manojlovič, "Le peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), 617-716.

²³ For example, in the time of the Emperor Anastasius and of Justinian: see Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 66-7.

²⁴ The connection of the Jews with the

circus parties was shown by J. Perles, "Thron und Circus des Königs Salomo," *MGWJ*, 21 (1872), 122-39; see *JE*, XI, pp. 442-3. Cf. H. Grégoire, "Le peuple de Constantinople ou les Bleus et les Verts," in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1946, p. 577; A. Sharf, "Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 48 (1955), 106-8.

²⁵ *Theophanis chronographia*, I, pp. 296 (26) — 297 (5), makes the "Green" party guilty and mentions no Jews; *Doctrina*, pp. 38-9, suggests Jewish participation in a quarrel between "Blues" and "Greens."

²⁶ Antiochus Strategos, "The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the Year 614," trans. by F. C. Conybeare, *The English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), 593; cf. Peeters, "Un nouveau ms arabe," *loc. cit.*, pp. 137-43.

²⁷ *Nicephori opuscula historica*, ed. by C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 30-1.

²⁸ Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, col. 945. This was the "Quinisext" Council of 692.

²⁹ *Theophanis chronographia*, I, p. 401 (21) (721/22 = his "year of the world" 6214); cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, Munich, 1924 ff., no. 286.

³⁰ *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, Fourth Part, trans. by J. -B. Chabot, Paris, 1895 (*Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, fasc. 112), pp. 25-7. Cf. J. Starr, "Le mouvement messianique au début du VIII^e siècle," *REJ*, 2 (102) (1937), 81-92.

³¹ Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-Anwār*, trans. by L. Nemoj, "Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA*, 7 (1930), 328; cf. Baron, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 182, 185.

³² *Chronica minora*, trans. by I. Guidi, Paris, 1903 (*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, *Scriptores syri*, Ser. 3, vol. 4), pp. 27-8; cf. Starr, "Le mouvement messianique," *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

³³ J. Mann (Communication from an unpublished paper), *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 47 (1927), 364; cf. Baron, *op. cit.*, III, p. 176.

³⁴ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, p. 490.

³⁵ *Theophanis chronographia*, I, p. 401 (22-25).

³⁶ Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, cols. 427-30 (Canon VIII). Cf. the standard formulae of abjuration, e.g. in *PG*, vol. 1, col. 1456-7.

³⁷ This may be the interpretation of "Armilus," the enemy of the Messiah, in the *Book of Zerubbabel*: see Yehudah Ibn Shemuel, *Midr'shei G'ulla* (2nd ed.), Jerusalem, 1954, pp. 61-6; and cf. I. Lévi, "L'Apocalypse de Zorobabel," *REJ*, 69 (1919), 108-15.

³⁸ *Anonymi adversus Constantinum cabalinum*, *PG*, vol. 95, cols. 336-7.

³⁹ On the collation of the different versions, see J. Starr, "An Iconodulic Legend and its Historical Basis," *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 500-3.

⁴⁰ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, p. 475.

⁴¹ σαρακηνηφόρων — cf. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴² The best-known example is the creation of a common folk hero "Digenes Akritas," i.e. "born of two races" — "living unjudged" = independently on the frontier, who brings peace to the border regions. See the section by J. Mavrogordato in F. H. Marshall's chapter "Byzantine Literature" in *Byzantium*, pp. 245-9; and A. A. Vasiliev's comment in "Byzantium and Islam," *ibid.*, p. 320.

⁴³ C. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081* (2nd ed.), Paris, 1944, p. 261; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁴⁴ Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, col. 167.

⁴⁵ *Josephi Genesisii de rebus Constantinopolitanis*, *PG*, vol. 109, cols. 1072-3; cf. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 109.

⁴⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1838, p. 42; cf. Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.

⁴⁷ The unreliability of Macedonian historiography was first shown by H. Grégoire, "Études sur le neuvième siècle," *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 515-50; cf. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁴⁸ A clear and comprehensive exposition is given by S. Bialoblocki, *Die Beziehung des Judentums zu Proselyten und Proselytentum*, Berlin, 1930; reprinted in Hebrew, with additional notes and references, by Z.

Gotthold, *Bar-Ilan University Annual*, 2 (1964), 44-60.

⁴⁹ V. A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks and M. Stern, *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*, Cambridge, Mass., III, 1964, pp. 43-87, 110.

⁵⁰ Acts of the Apostles, 13:16, 26; cf. *ibid.*, 13:43; 17:4, 17. See A. Reinach, "Noé Sangariou. Étude sur le déluge en Phrygie et le syncrétisme judéo-phrygien," *REJ*, 65 (1913), 161-80; 66 (1913), 1-43, 213-45.

⁵¹ On this sect, see J. Starr, "An Eastern Christian Sect: the Athinganoi," *The Harvard Theological Review*, 29 (1936), 93-106; and cf. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, London, 1912, p. 78.

⁵² Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 201; cf. below, pp. 106 ff.

⁵³ See, for example, *Theophanis chronographia*, I, pp. 488 (22-25), 494 (33) — 495 (3). On the Paulicians, see H. Grégoire, "Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 22 (1936), 95-114.

⁵⁴ Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁵⁵ For a characterization of this remarkable work, the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, see elsewhere in this volume, and for this episode, pp. 104-6, below. Cf. also Theophanes Continuatus, p. 341.

⁵⁶ See Dölger, *op. cit.*, no. 478, for references to the sources and the possible date; cf. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 127.

⁵⁷ See below, pp. 104-6.

⁵⁸ Theophanes Continuatus, p. 342; for Italy, cf. pp. 105-6, below.

⁵⁹ *The Vision of Daniel* has been printed with a commentary by L. Ginzberg, *Ginzei Schechter*, New York, I, 1928, pp. 313-23; and by Ibn Shemuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-52. It probably belongs to the late 10th century; see Ibn Shemuel's refutation (*ibid.*, pp. 243-4), supported by Baron, *op. cit.*, III, p. 317 note 12, of the theory that it is a 13th century source advanced by S. Krauss, "Un nouveau texte pour l'histoire judéo-byzantine," *REJ*, 87 (1929), 16-27. There are references in it to the last Amorian and the first four Macedonian Emperors; it concludes with a purely apocalyptic section. For the reference to Leo VI; see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Ibn

Shemuel, *op. cit.*, p. 250; cf. Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 140; and see below, p. 188.

⁶⁰ *Novella* 55 — J. and P. Zepos, *Ius graecoromanum*, Darmstadt, 1962, I, p. 125.

The penalty for apostasy was confiscation of property; see the reference to the sources in Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 147-8.

⁶¹ Dölgler, *op. cit.*, no. 624; cf. Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 151; and pp. 107-8, 116, below.

⁶² Al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, ed. and trans. by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Les Prairies d'Or*, Paris, 1861, II, pp. 8-9. On the writer, see R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (2nd ed.), Cambridge, 1930, pp. 352-4.

⁶³ Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁶⁴ See below, p. 335.

⁶⁵ Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 320; Ibn Shemuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-1; Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶⁶ Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Ibn Shemuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50; cf. Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5, who for מקהל has "community" instead of "synagogue," thus making the Emperor's benefactions wider, but has no explanation for the passage.

⁶⁷ The Cambridge Document, however uncertain its information about the Khazars, is unambiguous about Romanus the הרשע and his forced conversions. For this passage see S. Schechter, "An Unknown Khazar Document," *JQR* (n.s.), 3 (1912-3), 208 (Hebrew), 217 (English); A. Kahana, *Sifrut ha-Historia ha-Yisra'elit*, Warsaw, I, 1922, p. 47; cf. Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 152. On the Cambridge Document, see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 155-70, and the same author, below, chapter XIV.

⁶⁸ Many problems raised by Ḥasdai's letter to Constantinople have not been solved, but its basic authenticity has not been seriously questioned; see the bibliography on this given by Baron, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 305-6 note 40.

⁶⁹ Ibn Shemuel, *op. cit.*, p. 251, emending Ginzberg, who from here to the end of the document admitted he could make little of the text.

⁷⁰ Elias bar Shināyā, *al-Burhān 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Imān*, quoted by Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 246 (text); p. 190 (trans.). The writer was Metropolitan of Nisibis and is a reliable

contemporary source for the period; see W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, pp. 235-9.

⁷¹ Ibn Shemuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-2.

⁷² Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-5.

⁷³ The letter of which this incident is the central topic, and of which both the writer and addressee are uncertain, but which, from internal evidence, belongs to the end of the 11th century, was first printed by A. Neubauer, "Egyptian Fragments," *JQR* (o.s.), 9 (1897), 27-9, and then in a better version by J. Mann, "Messianic Movements during the First Crusades" (Hebrew), *ha-T'qufa*, 23 (1925), 253-9. An English translation and commentary are to be found in Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-8.

⁷⁴ *Basilica*, I, 1, 47; I, 1, 30 — D. Heimbach, *Basilicorum libri LX*, Leipzig, I, 1833, p. 22; for Starr's translation and comparison of these and subsequent references, see note 10, above. Justinian, for example, actually compelled Jews to serve on city councils (*Novella* 45 of the year 537); cf. P. N. Ure, *Justinian and His Age*, London, 1951, pp. 112-3. For a summary of the legal position as a whole, see Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-26.

⁷⁵ On slavery in Byzantium, see Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 168 note 1.

⁷⁶ On the laws of interest, also a product of the great 7th century reforms, see W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law*, Oxford, 1909; on the Church as money-lender, see the biography of John the Almsgiver, E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford, 1948, chap. 10.

⁷⁷ *Basilica*, I, 1, 53; cf. Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁷⁸ On Constantinople, see Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1853, p. 250. On part of a house given in a bride's dowry at Mastaura, see J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, Oxford, II, 1922, pp. 94-6.

⁷⁹ In 429, the *aurum coronarium*, the voluntary contribution for the upkeep of the Jewish Patriarchate, was turned into a tax imposed by the Imperial treasury: *Codex Theodosianus*, 16, 8, 29 (*Theodosiani libri XVI*, I, p. 895); repeated in *Codex Iustinianus*, 1, 9, 17.

⁸⁰ For example, Michael II, because of his

supposed Jewish sympathies: Theophanes Continuatus, p. 48; cf. A. Andréadès, "Les Juifs et le fisc dans l'empire byzantin," in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris, 1930, I, pp. 28-9; and F. Dölger, "Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 26 (1933), 11 (*Regesten*, no. 414); Basil I, among the inducements for conversion, Theophanes Continuatus, p. 341, where the language might admit the interpretation that this was some special tax.

⁸¹ Two terms are used: $\eta\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha$ = "head-tax" and $\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$. The latter could mean a tax with punitive intentions.

⁸² Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik*, trans. by C. Barbier de Meynard, "Le livre des routes et des provinces," *Journal Asiatique* (6th series), 5 (1865), 480. It may be that he was only extrapolating the Islamic *jizya* and *kharāj* (= "head-tax" and "hearth tax") on unbelievers. The same objection applies to an identical assertion of al-Marwazī (11th century) — which could also be simply a copy: cf. V. Minorsky, "Marvasi on the Byzantines," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 2 (1950) (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, Tome 10, 1950), 458. For the Imperial rescript, see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 892.

⁸³ Starr, who was inclined to support Andréadès in his opinion that there was no special Jewish tax, eventually seems to have agreed with Dölger that there was: cf. J. Starr, *Romania: the Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade*, Paris, 1949, pp. 111, 116 note 3.

⁸⁴ *Basilica*, I, 1, 34; I, 1, 40.

⁸⁵ In its complete form it first appears in the Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον — "Book of the Eparch," or city governor, and is a piece of Basilian legislation; see Zepos, *op. cit.*, I, p. 375.

⁸⁶ *Basilica*, I, 1, 16; I, 1, 37; I, 1, 44; I, 1, 47; cf. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 24.

⁸⁷ The most obvious expressions of hostility were, of course, the polemics of the Church, which did not differ from the Western kind. The difference was the effect they had on the secular authorities. For examples

of both, see A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos. A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1935.

⁸⁸ Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, col. 945.

⁸⁹ This is a reasonable inference: the original Jewish quarter in Constantinople was that of the bronze craftsmen (see note 94, below). There is a reference to at least one Jewish silversmith (Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 183). On woven fabrics, see *ibid.*, p. 167; on dyers, see J. Starr, "The Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 12 (1936), 42-9; on makers of silk garments, the information is of a later date (Benjamin of Tudela), but there is no reason to question its earlier applicability: see Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 28-9.

⁹⁰ R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, 20 (1945), 1-9, 23-4.

⁹¹ For our period, their activities are mostly to be inferred from reports in Alexandria of ransomed Jews who had been captured at sea; cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, II, p. 87.

⁹² Michael Attaleiates, *op. cit.*, p. 178; cf. S. Assaf, "Jewish Executioners" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz*, 5 (1934), 224-6 (reprinted in *Miqrot u-Mehqarim b-Toldot Yisra'el*, Jerusalem, 1946, pp. 252-4); M. Lewin, "Eine Notiz zur Geschichte der Juden im byzantinischen Reiche," *MGWJ*, 19 (1870), 117-22; cf. C. Roth, "European Jewry in the Dark Ages: a Revised Picture," *HUCA*, 23, 2 (1950-1), 156-8.

⁹³ On Jewish farmers in the Antioch region, see C. H. Kraeling, "The Jewish Community at Antioch," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 51 (1932), 133. There is no reason to doubt that the ample evidence in the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz* for later periods is applicable to other parts of the Empire.

⁹⁴ On this district, see *Theophanis chronographia*, I, p. 248 (5-8). On the location of subsequent districts, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Paris, 1936, I, pp. 249-52; A. Galanté, *Les Juifs de Constantinople sous Byzance*, Istanbul, 1940, pp. 23-5.

⁹⁵ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III, p. 72, gives the Emperor Michael II a Jewish grandfather — but this is just an echo of

Macedonian scandalmongering. For the law on intermarriage, see *Basilica*, I, 1, 38.

⁹⁶ On the synagogue, see Galanté, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-9. A dispute over reading the Torah in Greek was the pretext for Justinian's interference which led to his rescript (see above, note 10). The first reference to a Greek version of the Haftara for the Afternoon Service on the Day of Atonement is by R. Elijah Capsali (Candia, middle of the 16th century: see *Liqqūtim Shonim mi-Sefer d'-Bei Eliyahu*, ed. by M. Lattes, Padua, 1869, p. 22), but it is referred to as a מנהג קדמון. See Galanté, *op. cit.*, p. 39, for a reference to the reading of the Book of Esther in Greek.

⁹⁷ J. Starr, "A Fragment of a Greek Mishnaic Glossary," *PAAJR*, 6 (1935), 353-67.

⁹⁸ Cf., for example, the idiomatic Hebrew of a lady named Maliḥa: Mann, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 306-7.

⁹⁹ Cf. chapter VIII, below.

¹⁰⁰ There will be fuller treatment of the Karaites in another volume of this work.

¹⁰¹ Ankori, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-104.

¹⁰² See note 91, above.

¹⁰³ Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 242-3. For the commentary *Ozar Neḥmad* ("A Desirable Treasure"), see the very detailed analysis by Ankori, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-43.

¹⁰⁴ This was *Sefer ha-'Arayot* ("The Book of Incest"), the work of the great Jerusalem Karaite Abū 'l-Faraj Furqān (Yeshu'a b. Yehuda): see J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, II, Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 34-9.

¹⁰⁵ *Sefer ha-'Osher* ("The Book of Riches"): see Ankori, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-8.

¹⁰⁶ Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-4.

¹⁰⁷ On the growth of Byzantine Karaism from the 12th century onwards, see Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-93; for the 500 Karaites separated from 2,000 Rabbanites by a fence in Pera (Constantinople), see *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, pp. 16-7 (text reprinted by Ankori, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5 note 221); on the works of Tobiah b. Eliezer, especially his commentary *Leqah Tov* ("Good Doctrine"), see *ibid.*, pp. 261-80; cf. also M. Molho, *Histoire des Israélites de Castoria, Salonica*, 1938, pp. 11-4; and see below, pp. 185-6.

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Byzantine Jewry has not attracted anything like the attention devoted to other Jewish communities. This has been partly because Byzantine studies themselves have until recently been a comparatively neglected field. Partly however the reason has been the relative paucity of the material — in striking contrast, for example, to the wealth available on the neighboring, admittedly more important, communities under Islamic rule. Most references in the Jewish sources are short and often obscure, if we exclude Byzantine Italy; the non-Jewish sources usually confine themselves to notices of the persecutions or to legal enactments.

The founder of modern research was S. Krauss. Today, his pioneer essay, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1914 (also in *XXI Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien für das Schuljahr 1913/1914*, Vienna, 1914) — an earlier, and shorter, version of which constitutes the article "Byzantine Empire" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* — has only historiographical interest, because of the tremendous advances in the printing of critical editions of the sources made during the last fifty years. Byzantine Jewry was given an entirely new dimension by the brilliant American Jewish scholar J. Starr whose untimely death, shortly after the Second World War, was a serious blow to all historical scholarship. His collection of source-references, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204*, Athens, 1939, is fundamental. This chapter has drawn heavily on this work, as it has on many other of his contributions. Next in importance to Starr, was probably J. Mann — for his comments on material with a Byzantine interest from the Cairo Genizah. They are chiefly to be found in his *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, 1, Cincinnati, 1931, though there are also interesting items in vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1935) and in *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fātimid Caliphs*, 2 vols., Oxford,

1920-1922. Another collection of Jewish sources, mystical or allegorical in character but with valuable historical allusions to Byzantine events, are the texts edited by Y. Ibn Shemuel, *Midr'shei G'ullah* (2nd ed.), Jerusalem, 1954. So far as specialist articles are concerned, apart from those of Starr and Mann, we should note those by S. D. Goitein and by S. Assaf, mainly on social and economic subjects belonging to the end of our period. The most complete bibliography where many of them, together with other useful references, are listed is to be found in Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: the Formative Years, 970-1100*, New York & Jerusalem, 1959. The book itself, although essentially a study in doctrinal and communal controversy, can be profitably consulted on this chapter as a whole.

Specific problems have occasionally attracted scholars in the general Byzantine field. The outstanding example has been the controversy over the question of a Jewish tax. The protagonists were F. Dölger, notably in "Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 26 (1933), 1-24, and A. Andréadès, notably in "Les Juifs et le fisc dans l'empire byzantin," *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris, 1930, I, pp. 7-29. On the other hand, general Jewish historians have occasionally had something to say about the Byzantine community. We should especially note the sections included by S. W. Baron, again valuable for their bibliographical information, in *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2nd ed.), New York and Philadelphia, 1952-60, vols. III, IV and V.

So far as the Byzantine background is concerned, by far the best modern work is by G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised 2nd ed. translated by J. M. Hussey, Oxford, 1956; and with illustrations and an Introduction by Peter Charanis, New Brunswick, 1957.



Alexius I Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor
(Mosaic at Sta Sophia, Istanbul)

HERACLIUS AND MAHOMET

THE SPEED AND EXTENT OF THE ORIGINAL ARAB EXPANSION HAS ALWAYS impressed historians. Mahomet died in 632: twenty years later Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Armenia had fallen to the new invader, the remains of the Persian Empire had been obliterated and the new religion had been carried to India. By 697, North Africa had been completely conquered, by 712, Spain; by 720, the Arabs had penetrated into the south of France.¹ Almost as impressive, however, is the way in which this expansion was halted. In the West, the Arabs had travelled far from their centres of origin, their impetus had slackened and their defeat between Tours and Poitiers in 732 was not so decisive an event as has at times been supposed. But, in the East, their armies were continually recruited from bases in Arabia and Iraq and their attacks continued with unabated vigour. It was the Byzantine Empire, weakened by the loss of many territories, particularly by the loss of Egypt, its richest province, which had to withstand the full force of these attacks. After 660, a yearly series of campaigns commenced against Byzantine Asia Minor. Between 672 and 678, Constantinople itself was almost constantly besieged.² In the last years of the century, the imperial succession was disputed and internal disorder was added to the pressure on the frontiers.³ Moreover, the Arabs were not the only enemies of the empire. Previous to the Arab incursions, it had only just begun to recover from a Persian invasion, and, during the whole of the century, it had to maintain its defences against Slavs and Bulgars in the north. Nevertheless, in 718, the Emperor Leo III was able to inflict a crushing blow on the Arabs, Constantinople was saved and the danger of an earlier Islamic penetration of the Balkans, with incalculable consequences for Europe, was averted. How did the empire survive? Part of the answer must be sought in the work of the emperors who reigned for the hundred years before Leo came to the throne and whose work, therefore, has far more than a Byzantine significance.⁴

The fundamental achievement of Heraclius (610-641), the first of these emperors, and one with which all the other developments in the life of the empire during the seventh century were ultimately connected, was a complete reform of the Byzantine army. The essential problem of the later Roman Empire had always been a

military one. The Arab onslaught was merely the last in a long series to test the imperial defences. After the attempt of Justinian I to reconquer the West had failed, it was only the emphasis of that problem which had shifted. Instead of Vandals, Goths and Lombards, the chief enemies of the empire, before the Arabs came on the scene, were the Avars, the Slavs and the Persians. The problem, however, remained the same: the paramount need to keep an effective army in the field for the defence of the imperial frontier. Justinian's schemes had depleted imperial resources and had disorganized the army. The position worsened under his worthless successor Justin II (565-578), and neither Tiberius II (578-582) nor Maurice (582-602) were able to retrieve it.⁵ Civil and military administration alike disintegrated during the reign of Phocas (602-610). Slav and Avar incursions increased, while Persian armies overran the whole of Asia Minor and reached the shores of the Bosphorus. The disasters which the empire then suffered may, indeed, have been a major cause of the ease with which the Arabs won their initial victories thirty years later.⁶

Thus, at the accession of Heraclius, the army was in a chaotic condition, and his first urgent task was to transform it into a force which could be effective against the victorious Persians. There is good evidence of the thorough manner in which he carried it out. There are, for example, a number of references to military reform by a contemporary poet, George of Pisidia, who asserts that the emperor found the army so disorganized that he was forced to teach it the art of war from the very beginning.⁷ The main source for the period, the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, contains the interesting statement that, in 613, Heraclius tried to discover all the men who had taken part in the revolt against Maurice but could only find two — clearly an exaggeration, for no disorganization could have been quite so thorough — which probably reflects a strong tradition about the thoroughness of the Heracleian reform.⁸ More solid material is provided by a military manual entitled the *Strategicon*, a work of remarkable interest containing a complete and detailed account of army recruitment and organization.⁹ There are chapters on training, equipment, pay, leave, discipline, and the type of troops to be included in the order of battle¹⁰, with a full description of every formation; from which it is possible to reconstruct the composition of a typical *stratos* or army (roughly equivalent in function to a modern division) including the number of officers and men in every subsidiary unit,¹¹ and possible to assign, with a fair degree of exactness, the place of each in the military hierarchy with his actual task while on

active service¹³ The authorship of the *Strategicon* is uncertain, but its references to particular enemies of the empire suggest that it was composed at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.¹³ Few, if any, of its provisions, however, could have been applied in the confusion at the end of the reign of Maurice or during the reign of Phocas, and it is reasonable to associate it with the new spirit in the army engendered by the Heracleian reform. It opened a new chapter in the history of Byzantine army organization. For the first time, the government possessed a coherent written code for its fighting forces to which reference could always be made, and which ensured an unprecedented degree of efficiency, even if only a proportion of its instructions was ever put into practice.

The most important aspect of the army reform, however, and one which had wider implications, is illustrated by another, perhaps even more interesting text, the so-called "Byzantine Mutiny Act." The whole of it is an exposition of military law, considerably expanding the sections on discipline in the *Strategicon*, and very probably compiled under the inspiration of the other military measures initiated by Heraclius, for whom the strengthening of discipline must have been an obvious step.¹⁴ Its significance in the general picture of the Heracleian reforms is its indication of a great increase in severity since the time of Justinian. Of the fifty-three sections dealing with punishable offences, only twenty-nine are to be found in the *Digests* or the *Code*, and, for six of these, the punishments have been increased. Only one section is milder in tone.¹⁵ The changes, therefore, that took place in the army under Heraclius produced a more efficient and disciplined force than the empire had seen for years. It was a weapon which could be used with far greater confidence than had for long been possible, and eventually its worth was proved. A series of campaigns was launched against the Persians, the lost territories were regained and the Persian power was finally broken.¹⁶

The reform of the army, however, had wider consequences. It brought about far-reaching changes in the whole life of the empire. Firstly, it affected the newly reconquered provinces. The Roman Emperor Diocletian had sought to safeguard himself from usurpers by prohibiting his provincial governors the exercise of both civil and military power. Ever since the time of Justinian, however, there had been a tendency to undo his work, particularly in the West where, during the sixth century, an almost perpetual state of emergency made such a division impracticable, and where finally the *exarchates* of Italy and Africa once more united civil and military powers in the

person of one imperial official.¹⁷ Although, towards the end of the century, affairs in the East began to claim greater and greater attention, there is no evidence of the new system being applied to the government of the eastern provinces. The end of the century witnessed the decline of the army, and the exercise of military powers could serve no useful purpose so long as the army itself was in a state of disorganization. It is precisely after the reform had been carried out and after its results had been tested in battle that references to a somewhat similar development in Asia Minor first begin to appear.

The *exarchate* had merely meant an administrative change; in the East, the change from civil to military rule carried with it profound social and economic implications. In the first years of the seventh century, large numbers of Slavs had already settled within the borders of the empire, chiefly in Thrace and Macedonia, though much of the Peloponnese was also almost certainly affected,¹⁸ while there is good evidence for believing that about the year 650 a Slav community was established in Asia Minor.¹⁹ The character of these new invaders differed fundamentally from that of the invaders of the Roman West. The Slavs had never known institutions comparable to the Teutonic *laeti*. No free cultivators of theirs had ever lived attached to the land. As a result of the Slav settlement, the *colonnate* never developed in the East as it did in Italy, and the *adscripti glebae* — men tied to the soil — were replaced by either *mortitai* — peasants paying rent for individual pieces of land — or by *koinonoi* — communities of cultivators farming a piece of rented land in common.²⁰ In both instances, any element of compulsion that remained was probably very small.²¹ The legal status of the free peasant, not tied to the soil, was recognized in the existence of the *kephalion* — head-tax — distinct from any taxes upon landholdings. There seems little doubt that the *nomos georgikos* — the law which finally codified these developments — must be dated in the last years of the seventh century.²² The coming of the Slavs helped to change the rural economy of the empire, and it was this new economy which became the basis of a new type of civil and military administration. The most fertile portions of land were divided up into smallholdings which were granted to peasants on condition of military service, and these holdings were inalienable. The old provincial divisions were abolished, and groups of these holdings were formed into divisions called *themes*, over each of which a *strategos* (general) was in complete command. The dates to be assigned for the development of this system are still very much disputed,²³ though it is certain that by the middle of the seventh century there existed an “Armeniac” *theme*.²⁴

and that, before the end of the century, others had been added to it. It is very likely that Heraclius himself initiated the change for it is known that he promised land to the most deserving of his soldiers in order to encourage them during his Persian campaign and that he fulfilled his promise after victory had been won²⁵. His successors continued the process. The Armeniac *theme* covered the whole of the north-east of Asia Minor. The Anatolic *theme*, including the south-eastern portion, was probably formed during the reign of Constans II (641-668). Western Asia Minor was divided between the Opsikian, first mentioned in 688, and the Thracian, which can be dated in the first years of the eighth century.²⁶ The so-called "naval" *theme*, first mentioned in 698, was formed out of the islands in the Greek archipelago together with a narrow strip of the Cilician coast.²⁷ Lastly, in order to exercise greater control over the Slavs, the old prefecture of Illyricum was turned into the Helladic *theme*.²⁸ Towards the end of the century, a military government, similar to, but independent of the Italian and African *exarchates*, was imposed on Sicily.²⁹ Thus, during the course of the century, the whole of the old provincial system was replaced by six great military districts in the east and by three in the west. Despite the fact that the old separation of powers did not instantly disappear and that names of high civilian officials continue to be found on coins and seals after this period, the seventh century saw the establishment of widespread military rule by reorganized and highly disciplined armies which were able to survive the effects of the first Arab victories. The eastern *themes* withstood the raids which followed and were largely instrumental in preventing Asia Minor from suffering the fate of Palestine and Syria.

The reform of the army also affected an important element in the life of the imperial cities. During the fifth and sixth centuries, the parties of the *hippodrome* — the "Blues" and the "Greens" — had considerably increased in influence. Despite much which still remains obscure, there is compelling evidence to suggest that their function at Constantinople and elsewhere was not confined to the organization of chariot races. The results of much investigation over the past sixty years indicate that they were a genuine expression of city politics which the government permitted or had to accept.³⁰ On more than one occasion, their quarrels paralysed the administration, and, when they united against an emperor they nearly managed to force him off the throne³¹ — clear evidence of the support that the two parties together could command from the population of the capital.³² During the first half of the seventh century, however,

their importance suddenly declined and this kind of activity seems to have come to an end. This development is closely connected with the relation between the circus parties and the *demes*, organizations based upon different districts of the city with an intense political life of their own.³³ It was apparently these organizations which gave the parties their main strength (perhaps the poorer districts supported the Greens and the richer the Blues)³⁴ and it is through what is known of their functions that some questions about the parties can be answered. Apart from being responsible for public order in their locality and, possibly, for the levying of certain taxes,³⁵ the *demes*, particularly in the last years of the sixth century had to perform one very important task. They were responsible for a militia which, at critical moments, was of great military value to the Empire. In 558-559, the imperial general Belisarius led such a force against an attack of the Avars³⁶; in 583, four Slav attacks were defeated by the same means; while, in 600 and 602, the militia once more played a similar part.³⁷ But, from then on, such references are rare. It was certainly the army reform which made the use of bodies of men, to a great extent untrained,³⁸ neither necessary nor advisable. In order to ensure, however, that the leaders of the *demes* would not call out their militia of their own accord at an awkward moment,³⁹ their organizations had to be rendered as weak as possible. Thus the circus parties, their most public and dangerous function, had to be discouraged if not explicitly suppressed⁴⁰ while the *demes* themselves were allowed to remain for the fulfilling of nothing more than a ceremonial rôle.⁴¹ Just as the new army had helped the Heracleians to tighten their hold on the provinces, so did it help them to strengthen their rule in the capital. It was only during periods of disorder such as marked the accession of Leontius or of Apsimar that the parties could once again dare to raise their head⁴². The seventh century saw, in short, the abolition of what had been a riotous but genuine democratic activity. But the circus parties had often added to the danger in times of crisis. Their decline undoubtedly strengthened the powers of resistance of the Byzantine state.

This growth of a stricter regime was also expressed by a marked increase in the personal authority of the emperor. The last remnants of senatorial influence, for example, faded away under the Heracleians. As late as the accession of Justinian, numerous instances can still be found of the senate taking an active part in the business of government, and, after a period of eclipse during his reign, there was a short but definite revival of its importance.⁴³ During the seventh

century, however, references to it are very rare and are limited to those occasions when a change of emperor has temporarily weakened imperial power. Thus, in 641, when the succession was being disputed after the death of Heraclius, there are two mentions of the senate,⁴⁴ and there is another in 669 when the accession of Constantine IV was challenged by his brothers.⁴⁵ When, in 690, Justinian II pledged the loyalty of his entire people to the decrees of the Sixth Oecumenical Council, the senate was included in a purely formal manner,⁴⁶ and, in the elevation of Leo III to the throne, it played no greater part.⁴⁷ There is, in fact, little evidence to show that the senate had any political importance under the Heracleians. On the contrary, everything points to the establishment of a thorough autocracy.⁴⁸ Together with the end of the senate and the parties, their reign saw the end of the administrative hierarchy of the old Roman Empire. The great offices of state were replaced by lesser officials directly responsible to the emperor.⁴⁹ An example of this change was the fate of the *magister officium* who was made head of the senate but whose actual functions were taken over by others.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Count of the Court of Commerce was replaced by a number of officials with far less personal power.⁵¹ Most important of all, there occurred a change in the actual status of the emperor. For centuries, a strong conservatism had kept the title *imperator* in the forefront of the titles conferred upon the Roman emperors. The desire to preserve the old terminology arose from a deep hatred of kingship or "tyranny" — it was felt that, so long as the old title was prominent, the emperor, whatever the reality of his personal power, was somehow still "the first among equals," for the distinction supposed to exist between kingship and *imperium* is summarized in the assertion of Lydus that the only function of the *imperator* was to restore what had been destroyed by popular tumult and to raise armies for the defence of the empire.⁵² But a custom had grown up, perhaps from the first century, of according to the emperor, albeit unofficially, the royal title of *basileus*.⁵³ It was with Heraclius that this new title replaced the old Latin formula with its republican associations. On 25th November, 629, in the full flush of his victory over the Persians, it was officially adopted by him and his son Constantine. The new title abolished at one stroke the constitutional implications that had previously existed of senatorial or popular influences in the government and symbolized the autocratic quality of the Heracleian regime.

Thus, the inner strength of Byzantium in the seventh century arose, in the last analysis, as the result of a fundamental change in the

social and economic structure of its peasant community largely brought about by the influx of the Slavs. The new structure was able to support a far more efficient system of provincial government based on the pre-eminence of a newly modelled and highly disciplined military force. The power of the emperor was increased, both in theory and practice, and it began to be exercised through a comparatively docile city proletariat and a reconstituted and easily manageable civil service. At the same time, it would be idle to deny that the personal qualities and acts of Heraclius and his successors played an important rôle in this revival and that, given the social and economic background, a study of the work of the Heracleians as such is a fruitful task for the historian. It was partly as a result of this work that the regime was able to withstand the shock of the Arab invasion and to command the resources for a successful counter-attack. Despite the fact that the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century saw many emperors and many rebel leaders during a period often described as twenty years of anarchy, the empire was never seriously in danger, as the victory of 718 and the internal and external triumphs of Leo III (717-741) and Constantine V (741-775) amply demonstrate.

Events within the empire, however, are, by themselves an insufficient explanation of the way in which the Arab advance was halted. During the very period when the Arabs began to make serious inroads into the heart of the Byzantine dominions, changes had begun within their own community with political and military consequences both for themselves and for the world outside Islâm, and a social transformation took place there as fundamental as that which has just been described.

The unity of all Arabs within the common bond of Islâm had been by no means perfectly achieved by Mahomet before his death. The old tribal feuds continued to flourish and were, to some extent, even embittered by the new religion. Side by side with the jealousies and divisions which had existed for centuries there now arose a complicated system of family precedence based upon the supposed date of adherence to Mahomet. Thus, his first converts and their descendants, themselves elaborately subdivided, became the aristocrats of the new dispensation. The next to be converted, the so-called "helpers" (*ansâri*), founded a dynasty next in rank. Those who first made the pilgrimage to Mecca after the death of the prophet, those who knew the Koran by heart, and claimants to many other kinds of honours, all had in theory a separate and unassailable place in the new hierarchy, and they and their descendants quarrelled and

intrigued most bitterly in their efforts to preserve their known or supposed status for posterity.⁵⁴ Abū Bakr, Mahomet's first successor or caliph was by no means unanimously accepted, and the supremacy of the holy cities Mecca and Medina was by no means secure. The uncertainty of the succession and the persistence of the blood-feud, which even strong religious feeling could not eradicate, filled the second half of the seventh century with internal strife. Abū Bakr's successor 'Umar, living in perpetual fear of his colleagues, was murdered, and the same fate befell the next caliph, 'Uthmān. Thereupon civil war broke out between his clan, the Umayyads, and the Hāshimites to whom Mahomet had belonged and who felt themselves to have been excluded from their share of power. The struggle continued until, in 661, the Hāshimite 'Alī, the son-in-law of the prophet, had been murdered by the Umayyad Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Syria. But although 'Alī's son al-Hasan resigned his rights for a large annual pension,⁵⁵ the foundation of the Umayyad caliphate brought no immediate unity to the Arab world. Old hatreds had been inflamed and new ones aroused. To the rivalries between tribes had been added rivalries between the newly conquered territories. The war had turned into a struggle for pre-eminence between Kūfa and Damascus, between Iraq and Syria. Mu'āwiyah's son Yazīd was forced to attack and destroy the holy cities themselves for their fervent support of the old caliphate, and his death in 683 was followed by nine years of extremely confused fighting from which the great Umayyad caliph 'Abdal-Malik finally emerged victorious. These dissensions among the Arabs, are, of course, the most obvious reasons why the Heracleians had the time to achieve their reforms and to rebuild the defences of the Byzantine state. They were, however, the expression of a deeper conflict brought about by the rise of the Umayyads, a conflict which hampered the Arabs to a far greater extent.

Arab expansion had been due to a large number of causes, amongst which the impulse to gain converts had almost certainly been relatively unimportant. Hunger was perhaps the most important single cause — illustrated in the verse:

No, not for paradise did'st thou this nomad life forsake

Rather I believe, it was thy yearning after bread and dates.⁵⁶

It would falsify the picture, however, if religious motives were altogether ignored, for, while the actual reasons for the speed of the expansion may have had little connexion with any religion, principles derived from Islām did largely govern the actions of Arab leaders for the first few years. The intention of Mahomet and of the first

four caliphs had been undoubtedly to establish and maintain a theocratic state with no distinctions between spiritual and secular obligations and with a people living in complete equality, irrespective of rank or wealth, whose chief task would be to preserve the purity of their doctrine and bring worthy converts into the fold. These principles had proved insufficient to produce real unity, and, while the Arabs were still guided by them, their powers of expansion were, after all, not very great. They were only able to conquer those areas where the population had some racial or cultural kinship, as in Palestine and Syria, or where it had become thoroughly disaffected as in Egypt.⁵⁷ But, almost from the very beginning another tendency had arisen, of which the exponents were the Umayyads, differing in practically every important aspect from that represented by the Hāshimites. First of all, the original attitude to war was not what it became in later Islāmic history. It is not easy to find either in the Koran or in the oral traditions (*hadīth*) explicit injunctions to territorial conquest. Although there are plenty of exhortations to defend Islām,⁵⁸ the two chief passages encouraging aggression read respectively, "Kill those who join other gods with God wherever you shall find them"⁵⁹ and "Make war upon those to whom the scriptures have been given as believe not in God . . . and who forbid not that which God and his holy apostles have forbidden."⁶⁰ Not only is there in neither any suggestion of conquest, but it may be argued that the first passage must automatically exclude all lands of Christians and Jews from attack and that the second can only refer to backsliding Christians, Jews, and, for that matter, Muslims. It is only necessary to examine the attitude of the caliph 'Umar, the first Arab ruler to be confronted with these questions in practice, in order to realize that conscious expansion was in no sense a part of the original Islāmic outlook. 'Umar was extremely reluctant to extend the conquests made in Palestine, Syria and Iraq, which had been the result of raids following the routes of the traditional migrations and not a deliberate policy of expansion, and, until 638, tried to enforce the rule prohibiting Muslims from journeying more than a day's camel ride from Medina.⁶¹ He prayed for a wall of fire to descend between the Arabs and the Persians to prevent a conflict, and did his utmost to hinder an invasion of Africa after the conquest of Egypt: "Nay, it is not 'Africa'," he is supposed to have said, "but 'Mafriqa' (place of scattering) — betraying and betrayed. No one shall invade it as long as I live."⁶² He hated the sea, not because of the existence of any prohibition on seafaring,⁶³ but because he feared that familiarity

with it might be a temptation for further campaigns. This outlook began to change under 'Uthmān and disappeared under the Umayyads. New ideas about expansion encouraged raids into Asia Minor and the building of a fleet became a military necessity. This new, conscious, policy of conquest, with little sanction in the original teaching of Mahomet, was only one aspect of a wider change which the rise of the Umayyads was bringing to Islām.

The original Hāshimite aristocracy had been poor by the standards of Greek and Persian rulers, and the first caliphs had seriously attempted to implement the democratic aspect of their religion by not acquiring wealth greatly in excess of that possessed by their followers. 'Umar, for example, was renowned for his modesty and is said to have horrified the Patriarch Sophronius by the poverty and dirt of his appearance when he entered Jerusalem.⁶⁴ In 640, after the Arabs had captured Egyptian Babylon, the ambassadors from Alexandria are supposed to have said of them, "their leader is like unto one of them: the low cannot be distinguished from the high, nor the master from the slave."⁶⁵ But, as the conquests increased, so did the proceeds from the *jizya*, the tax on unbelievers, and a swelling central treasury proved to be an irresistible temptation. The third of the so-called "Pious Caliphs"⁶⁶ 'Uthmān — who was the first of the Umayyads — amassed an enormous personal fortune and his example was followed by his successors. The amount of the *jizya* was often raised and as often rigorously and violently exacted, at length it was even demanded from converts on the ingenious pretext that their dead relatives had remained infidels and that therefore payment was due on their behalf.⁶⁷ The struggle with the followers of 'Alī — the Shi'ites — was an additional motive for acquiring wealth, for, by its aid, enemies could often be turned into friends.

Together with this increase in wealth and the growing interest in conquest for its own sake, there took place a marked decline from the old religious and moral ideals. The contrast between the "Pious Caliphs" and their Umayyad successors can, of course, be greatly exaggerated. 'Uthmān was one of the "Four" and his wealth and nepotism were alike notorious. But it cannot, nevertheless, be ignored. Instead of strict obedience to Islām with its well-defined policy of toleration to certain other religions, there arose, in the closing decades of the seventh century, a capricious attitude unpredictably cruel and lax by turns. Mu'āwiyah, for example, seems, on the one hand, to have left the Christian community of Jerusalem undisturbed⁶⁸ and to have employed a Christian

physician whom he advanced to high honours,⁶⁹ while, on the other hand, he caused the population of Egypt to be divided for administrative purposes into "men" — the Muslims — and "non-men" — the Copts.⁷⁰ A certain Athanasius bar Goumāye, the Christian adviser and guardian of al-Azīz, the brother of 'Abdal-Malik, became enormously rich and built many churches in Edessa.⁷¹ A rival complained about him to the caliph who pronounced that it was unfitting for a Christian to have so many possessions and confiscated most of them. The patriarch Mār Elias was received with all honour by the caliph Wālid in 708 and had his churches burned down by the same caliph two years later.⁷² One caliph ordered a Christian servant who refused to accept Islām to eat of his own flesh,⁷³ while at the court of another there were Muslim poets encouraged to compose satires on the "Companions" of the prophet.⁷⁴

Finally, all these changes brought with them the beginnings of a significant new concept based partly on the old tribal aristocratic pretensions. It was no longer the Muslim who was the superior of the non-Muslim, but the Arab who had become the superior of all other peoples — Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Under the Umayyads, a real revolution began within Islām, and, as the original impulses for expansion weakened they were slowly changed into something very different. If the actions of any one man were the cause of transforming the caliphate, or theocratic state, into the *mulk*, or secular kingdom, then it was 'Uthmān who, by acquiring great wealth on the one hand and by reversing the policy of his predecessor and permitting expansion on the other, provided both the incentive and the means for the growth of an open Arab imperialism. In fact, such a development was always an obvious possibility from the moment when the first step had been taken outside the Arab peninsula and the riches of the Mediterranean world were revealed to the eyes of the Arab nomads. Under the Umayyads, this possibility was transformed into a reality. In place of the economic necessity, which was most probably chiefly responsible for first setting the Arabs in motion, and of the religious considerations which guided much of their early behaviour, there was substituted the pursuit of wealth, and the luxuries and refinements that went with it, by the establishment of an Arab empire not very different morally or culturally from any other empire that had preceded it. The change of attitude, however, involved in substituting the ideal of a secular empire, with all the attributes of a complex urban civilization, in place of a theocracy governing the simple life of the tribe, could not

but be a very gradual one. 'Umār had stressed the dangers of abandoning old ways⁷⁵ and, for years, the invaders would camp outside the walls of the cities they had captured for fear of some contaminating influence. Only one new town, Ramlah, was, in this first period founded by the Arabs in the whole of Syria and Palestine, and the sources show not the slightest trace of interest in urban life until the ninth century.⁷⁶ Thus, the coming of the Umayyads did not bring about an instant change. The old attitude continued to persist, probably amongst their supporters as well as amongst their conservative opponents. The changes which the Umayyads did bring, and which, later, did provide a strong impetus for expansion and conquest, had by no means been completed by the end of the seventh century. It was a period of transition, and, while it lasted, there was temporary safety for the world outside Islām. During it, Byzantium was sheltered from the full force of the onslaught, and the Heracleians were able to preserve and consolidate their remaining possessions.

The two great powers of the seventh century, Byzantium and Islām, both underwent, or were in the process of undergoing, profound transformations. In both, the old social forms were fundamentally altered, in both there arose a hitherto unknown autocratic rule. But the powers of adaptation and resilience of the older community were apparently greater than that of the newer. The Heracleians were able to achieve their revolution far more quickly and efficiently than the Umayyads and thus to build the structure which made possible the victory of Leo III and the survival of Byzantium.

NOTES

¹ The best introduction to this is P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (4th edn. London, 1949), 139-168; the most accessible main source al-Balādhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, trans. P. K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten (Columbia College Studies in History, Economics and Public Law LXVIII, 2 vols., New York, 1916-1924). In the present article, familiar Arabic names and terms have been left in their ordinary English form, others are according to Hitti's system.

² Cf. M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal Asiatique* CCVIII, (1926), 77-80.

³ Between 695 and 715, six emperors reigned and each had gained the throne by violence.

⁴ No full-length study of this subject exists, although the seventh century in Byzantine history had undoubtedly a character of its own. There are a number of works on the first of these emperors, Heraclius, the latest by A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Heraclio* (Florence, 1905) and one on his successor, Constans II,

by I. Kaestner, *De Imperio Constantini III*, Academia Ienensis Philologisches Seminar *Commentationes Ienenses VIII*, 1 (Leipzig, 1907). On the period as a whole, cf. especially G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (2nd ed., Munich, 1952), 72-118; C. Diehl, *Le Monde oriental de 395 à 1081 (Histoire de moyen âge)*, ed. G. Glotz, III, Paris, 1945), 141-157, 212-248.

⁵ Tiberius did manage to rebuild something of an army, cf. N. H. Baynes, "The Successors of Justinian," *Cambridge Medieval History II*, 273. On the work of Maurice, which, in the end, was destroyed by a military revolt, cf. P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam I* (Paris, 1951).

⁶ Goubert goes so far as to say, "602 explains 622," *op. cit.*, 26-27, 271-272.

⁷ George of Pisidia, *De Expeditione Persica II*, 44-48 (*Patrologiae cursus completus* ed. J. P. Migne, XCII, 1215-16); cf. E. Darko, "Influences touraniennes sur l'évolution de l'art militaire des Grecs, des Romains et des Byzantins", *Byzantion XII* (1937), 119-147.

⁸ *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883-5), 300 (4-6).

⁹ The most accessible version is the French summary by F. Aussaresses, *L'armée byzantine à la fin du vi-ième siècle*, (Bordeaux, 1909).

¹⁰ Aussaresses, 13-19, 46-47.

¹¹ Aussaresses, 19-41.

¹² Aussaresses, 34-35.

¹³ For full discussion and bibliography, cf. G. Moravčyk, *Byzantinaturcica* (Budapest, 1942) I, 250. Darko's arguments, *op. cit.*, 122, that the author was Heraclius himself, do not entirely convince.

¹⁴ W. Ashburner, "The Byzantine Mutiny Act", *Journal of Hellenic Studies XLVI* (1926), 80-109. The earliest extant MS. is probably tenth century, *ibid.*, 91, but the complete absence of any reference to religious observances suggests that it is based on much earlier material, since, by then, such observances were well established as an essential part of military discipline; cf. J. Vieillefond, "Les pratiques religieuses dans l'armée byzantine", *Revue des études anciennes XXXVII* (1935), 325. On the other hand, the Act cannot be earlier than the *Strategicon* for it repeats many of its provisions, while it can scarcely be ascribed to the period immediately after the Heraclians when it would be inconceivable for it to have no clauses prohibiting the worship of images.

¹⁵ The stricter sections are 2, 7, 15, 23, 29, 33; section 37 is rather milder. Repetitions from the *Digests* or *Code* are to be found in sections 1, 4, 5, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 51, 56. Of the remaining sections, sixteen occur in the *Strategicon*.

¹⁶ The most detailed survey of the Persian campaigns is by N. H. Baynes, "The Military Operations of the Emperor Heraclius" *United Services Magazine MXI-MXII* (1913), 526-533, 659-666; *MXVII-MXVIII* (1919), 30-38, 195-201, 318-324, 401-412, 532-541, 665-679.

¹⁷ On the Italian *exarchate*, cf. C. Diehl, *Etudes sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne* (Paris, 1888), 15-16; on the African, C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), 466-482.

¹⁸ The latest study on the extremely complex problem of the exact extent of Slav penetration is by P. Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au vii-ième siècle", *Revue Historique CCXI* (1954), 265-308. On the special problem of the Peloponnese, cf. the latest contribution (in a prolonged controversy) by P. Charanis, "On the Slavic Settlements in the Peloponnese", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift XLVI* (1953), 91-103.

¹⁹ Thus B. A. Panchenko, "Monument Slavyan 7-vo veka v Bifnii", *Izvestiya Russkovo Arkheologicheskovo Instituta VIII* (1903), 15-62; cf. G. Schlumberger, "Sceau des Esclaves d'éparchie du Bithynie", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift XII* (1903), 227; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1952), 107 n.1, disagrees on the dating.

¹⁰ The views here expressed have been worked out in detail in the important monograph by Y. E. Lipshitz, "Vizantiiskoe khrestyanstvo i Slavyanskoye kolonizatsiya", *Vizantiisky Sbornik* I (1945), 96-143; for a general survey of the land question in Byzantium cf. G. Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the middle ages", *Cambridge Economic History* I (1942), 194-223.

¹¹ W. Ashburner, "Nomos Georgikos", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXXII (1912), 76-79; 84.

¹² Cf. G. Vernadsky, "Sur l'origine de la loi agraire", *Byzantion* II (1925), 169-180.

¹³ Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, "Sur la date de la composition du *Livre des Thèmes*", *Byzantion* XXIII (1953), 31-66.

¹⁴ Theoph. 348.9.

¹⁵ This view was first put forward by E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), 132, and is maintained in the latest contribution to the discussion by W. Ensslin, "Der Kaiser Herakleios und die Themenverfassung", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XLVI (1953), 362-368; cf. on the other hand, A. Pertusi, *Constantino Porfirogenito de Thematis* (Vaticana City, 1952), 104-111 for a contrary view.

¹⁶ Theoph. 364 (13-15); 414.33.

¹⁷ Theoph. 370 (23-24).

¹⁸ Theoph. 405 (14-18) first mentions its troops as in revolt against Leo III.

¹⁹ C. Diehl, "L'origine de régime des thèmes", *Etudes byzantines*, (Paris, 1905) 283 n. 3.

²⁰ The fundamental research was by F. I. Uspensky, "Partii Tsirka i Dimy v Konstantinopole", *Vizantiisky Vremnik* I (1894), 1-17, since when a copious literature has been produced on this topic. Cf. above all the elaborate survey by G. Manojlovič, "Le peuple de Constantinople", *Byzantion* XI (1936), 617-716, who was the first fully to appreciate the social significance of the factions.

²¹ For the submission of the Emperor Anastasius to the parties, see Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1831), 393-395, and for their actions in the "Victory" riots against Justinian, Procopius, *De Bello Persico* I, 24; cf. Y. Janssens, "Les Bleus et les Verts sous Maurice, Phocas et Héraclius", *Byzantion* XI (1936), 499-536.

²² F. Dvornik, "The Circus Parties in Byzantium", *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* I (1946), 125, goes so far as to call the hippodrome "a sort of parliament", and the point has been developed at some length by N. Pigulevskaya, "K Voprosu o razlozhenii rabovladel'cheskoy formatsyi na blizhnem vostoki", *Voprosy Istorii* IV (1950), 44-54.

²³ The fullest discussion is by A. P. Diakonov, "Vizantiiskii Dimy i Partii ot 5-vo do 7-vo stoletiya", *Vizantiisky Sbornik* I (1945), 144-227.

²⁴ Manojlovič, *op. cit.*, 652-654.

²⁵ Diakonov, 151.

²⁶ Theoph. 233 (12-13).

²⁷ Theoph. 254.7, 279.20, 287.23.

²⁸ There were, at the end of the sixth century, apparently some 1500 Blues and 600 Greens as a cadre, capable of expansion; cf. Janssens, *op. cit.*, 507 — presumably the cadre had some training.

²⁹ For example, at the overthrow of Phocas (Theoph. 296.25-297.4).

³⁰ There is not sufficient evidence that the parties were formally dissolved by one of the Heracleians. It is more likely that they were gradually taken out of the control of their leaders and placed under officials appointed by the emperor; cf. Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 131-132.

³¹ For example in the *acclamatio* to an emperor, cf. Liutprand, *Legatio* IX (ed. J. Becker, 180).

³² A. Maricq, "La durée de régime des parties populaires à Constantinople", *Bulletin de la classe des lettres d'Académie royale de Belgique* XXXV (1949), 66-67.

⁴³ C. Diehl, "Le Senat et le peuple byzantin au vii-ième et viii-ième siècles", *Byzantion* I (1924), 201-205. It was, of course, no longer the classical body, cf. J. B. Bury, *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1910), 7.

⁴⁴ Theoph. 331.3, 342 (9-19).

⁴⁵ Theoph. 352 (19-21).

⁴⁶ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* XI. 737-738.

⁴⁷ Theoph. 390 (20-24).

⁴⁸ It is very difficult to accept Diehl's contention (*Byzantion* I, 209) that the century exhibited the symptoms of a resurrected Greek democracy.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. E. R. Boak, *The Master of Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empire* (New York, 1919), 50.

⁵⁰ J. B. Bury, "The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century", *British Academy Supplemental Papers* I (London, 1911), 19-20.

⁵¹ R. S. Lopez, "The Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire", *Speculum* XX (1945), 12 n. 4.

⁵² L. Bréhier, "L'Origine des titres imperieaux à Byzance", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XV (1906), 170.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 165-168.

⁵⁴ J. Zaidan, *Umayyads and 'Abbasids* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series V, London, 1905), 33-35.

⁵⁵ P. K. Hitti, *History of Syria* (London, 1951), 435-436.

⁵⁶ Quoted by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 144.

⁵⁷ On this point, see especially, A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, (Oxford, 1902).

⁵⁸ For example, the *hadith* collected by T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885), 244-245.

⁵⁹ Koran, sūrah ix. 5-6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, sūrah ix. 29.

⁶¹ Zaidan, 32.

⁶² Ibn Abd al-Hakem, *The Conquest of Egypt*, trans. C. C. Torrey, *Yale Biblical and Semitic Studies* (1901), 237.

⁶³ In the Koran, Allah is spoken of as "he who made subservient to you the sea that ships may run therein by his command" (sūrah, XVI.14.).

⁶⁴ Theoph. 339 (17-29).

⁶⁵ al-Hakem, 263.

⁶⁶ According to the Shi'ites (followers of 'Alī) they are Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Alī.

⁶⁷ Zaidan, 136.

⁶⁸ The Irish monk Arculfus, visiting Jerusalem about 670, has no criticism of the Muslims in his account; cf. Adamnanus, *De locis sanctis*, ed. P. Geyer, *Itinera hierosolymitana saec. IV-VIII, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XXXIX* (Vienna, 1898).

⁶⁹ Hitti, *History of Syria*, 439.

⁷⁰ Zaidan, 136.

⁷¹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronographia*, ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot (4 vols., Paris, 1899-1910) II, 475-477.

⁷² Michael the Syrian II, 475.

⁷³ Zaidan, 137-138.

⁷⁴ R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1930), 239-241.

⁷⁵ "Never has the ploughshare entered, but humiliation has entered also", quoted by Zaidan, 42.

⁷⁶ Cf. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), 334-367; on Ramlah, cf. al-Balādhuri, 220-221.

BYZANTINE JEWRY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

The Persian and Arab invasions of the seventh century constituted a serious threat to the existence of the Byzantine Empire and compelled Heraclius and his successors to adopt various measures which might consolidate their rule.¹ In addition to a number of administrative reforms,² it was essential, for the successful defence of their territories, to ensure the loyalty of their subjects. It was because the greatest obstacle to this aim was considered to be disunity of religious belief that Heraclius, after his victory over the Persians in 629, removed from their sees the monophysite bishops of Syria whom the Persians had encouraged, and forced his interpretation of orthodoxy on the catholicos of Armenia.³ His issue of the *Ecthesis*, just as the issue of the *Type* by Constans II, and the condemnation of the pope Martin I and the monk Maximus had all a similar motive.⁴ In the same way, the transfer by Justinian II of the Mardaite tribes from

* Any discussion of Byzantine Jewry would be a far harder task were it not for the advances made in this field on the work of the pioneer Jewish Byzantinist Samuel Krauss by the late Joshua Starr. The present essay is based on Starr's invaluable collection of sources, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, Bd. 30), Athens 1939, and would add something to the elucidation of the critical period during and immediately after the first Arab invasions by continuing the enquiry begun by him in his important article 'Byzantine Jewry on the Eve of the Arab Conquest' *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15 (1935) pp. 280-293.

My thanks are due to Professor Dölger for his very helpful criticism and for his suggestions of valuable additional material.

¹ No study of the Heraclian dynasty treated as a whole at present exists. The latest and best survey is in G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, Munich 1952, pp. 72-118.

² Particularly the theme system. See especially E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 1919, pp. 117-140, and the most recent discussion by W. Ensslin, 'Der Kaiser Herakleios und die Themenverfassung', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 46 (1953) pp. 362-368.

³ For the persecution of the monophysites in Syria see *La Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and transl. J. B. Chabot, 4 vols., Paris 1899-1910 (= Michael the Syrian): vol. 2, p. 412, for the events in Armenia see *L'Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebeos*, transl. F. Macler, Paris 1904 (= Sebeos): pp. 91-92, and for a general description of the church in the eastern provinces see L. Duchesne, *L'Eglise au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1925, pp. 304-337.

⁴ The importance politically of the condemnation of Martin I is stressed in *Martini Notitia Historica*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* (= MPL) vol. 87 col. 113, and of Maximus in *Maximi Confessoris Acta*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* (= MPG) vol. 90 cols. 124 D-125 A.

northern Syria into imperial territory may have arisen from the need of keeping under stricter control those whose theology was disliked and whose politics, therefore, according to the logic of the day, were bound to be suspect.⁵ The Heracleians, whether monothelite like Heraclius and Constans II or Chalcedonian, like Constantine IV and Justinian II, were determined to rule over subjects whose reliability could at least be guaranteed by their identity of belief, and, while the imposition of orthodoxy had been the policy of most emperors since Constantine I, the peculiar danger threatening the empire in the seventh century gave the question added importance, causing the heterodox to undergo an intense and systematic persecution, as they had done during times of crisis in the past.

It has been widely accepted that the Jews of the empire were treated in precisely the same manner, and that the persecution which broke out around Jerusalem after the return of the imperial troops in 630 heralded a period of systematic attacks by the government upon the Jews, for the same reason that there were attacks upon the monophysites and other dissidents from orthodoxy. The behaviour of the Jews on the eve of the Arab and during the Persian invasion is presented as the culmination of a long history of rebellion and treachery,⁶ while the persecution of 630 is said to mark the beginning of a deliberately sterner policy towards them on the part of the Heracleians. This policy has been compared to that pursued by Christian states in the west, particularly by Visigothic Spain, where, as the threat of an Arab invasion came nearer, all heterodoxy was rigorously suppressed and the Jews especially subjected to a vicious persecution. The clearest expression of this view has been given by Professor Brătianu who, in the course of a communication to the 8th International Congress of the Historical Sciences held at Zurich in 1938, said, in passing, that "il faut tenir compte . . . de l'effet de la politique résolument antisémite de l'empire byzantine et des royaumes chrétiens - francs et wisigoths - au vii-ième siècle"⁷ and who, in 1941, elaborated the connection between what he considered to be the antisemitic policy of the Heracleians and their administrative and constitutional reforms for the defence of the empire.⁸ However, after scrutinising the admittedly scanty sources for this subject afresh, it seems that this view may need modification.

A great deal of material can, of course, be adduced to show how relations between the Jews and the imperial government, which had been reasonably

⁵ Sources for the treaty transferring the Mardaites are noted by F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, Reihe A Abt. I) Munich, 1924 (= Dölger, *Regesten*) no. 237.

⁶ See for example S. Vaillhé, 'Les Juifs et la prise de Jérusalem en 614', *Echos d'Orient* 12 (1909) pp. 15-17.

⁷ G. Brătianu, 'La fin du monde antique et le triomphe d'Orient', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 18 (1939) p. 265.

⁸ G. Brătianu, 'La fin du régime des partis à Byzance et la crise antisémite du vii-ième siècle', *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 18 (1941) pp. 49-67.

good from the third to the fifth century, steadily deteriorated from the time of Justinian I. In 547, the Jews and Samaritans of Caesarea rose in revolt and were crushed with great bloodshed.⁹ In 553, the government for the first time interfered with the service of the synagogue, prohibiting the expounding of the so-called δευτέρωσις and enjoining that the Pentateuch should be read in Greek, preferably in the Septuagint version.¹⁰ In 569, Justin II closed a synagogue in the heart of the Jewish quarter of Constantinople and converted it into a church.¹¹ In 592, there were riots at Antioch, where a Jew had been accused of insulting a holy picture, and the Jews were expelled from the city,¹² while, wherever there was a large Jewish community, there seems to have arisen at that time an atmosphere of considerable tension.¹³ At the beginning of the seventh century, the Jews must have returned to Antioch, for, in 608, they played an important part in more serious disorders there which caused the death of Anastasius, the Chalcedonian patriarch, and numbers of his flock.¹⁴ In 610 there may have been a slaughter of the Jews in Tyre after the supposed discovery of a plot against the lives of the Christians of that city.¹⁵ When the Persians invaded Syria and Palestine and advanced to Chalcedon they were probably welcomed by the Jews, and, after the capture of Jerusalem in 614, they were aided by them in their vengeance on the inhabitants.¹⁶ Considered in the light of the foregoing evidence, the persecutions of 630 could be described as the result of a long record of Jewish disloyalty and as a fitting prelude to the events of 632 when the emperor Heraclius ordered the forcible baptism of all the Jews in his dominions.¹⁷ There are other factors, however, which complicate this comparatively simple picture.

⁹ *Theophanis Chronographia* ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig 1883 (= Theoph.) 230 (5-8).

¹⁰ Nov. 146 (ed. Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Imp. Iustiniani Novellae*, Leipzig 1881, vol. 2 pp. 346-349. The term δευτέρωσις was intended to translate *Mishna*, the root meaning of which is "repetition". In fact, passages from all post-Biblical literature were prohibited.

¹¹ Theoph. 248 (5-8). A similar but shorter notice appears for the last year of Theodosius II - Theoph. 102 (10-12). The quarter of the workers in bronze - the χαλκοπρατεῖα - where this building stood was for centuries the Jewish district. It is not impossible that after a first confiscation by Theodosius the building returned into Jewish hands.

¹² Agapius of Menbidj, *Kitāb al-Unwān*, ed. and transl. A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* (= PO) vol. 8 pp. 439-440.

¹³ John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Third Part transl. R. Payne Smith, London 1860, p. 209 and pp. 216-221.

¹⁴ Theoph. 296 (16-21), Michael the Syrian vol. 2 p. 379.

¹⁵ Eutychius, *Annales*, MPG vol. 11 cols. 1084-1085. The same incident is probably described in the *Kitāb al-Unwān*, PO vol. 8 p. 449.

¹⁶ Theoph. 301. 1. Michael the Syrian vol. 2 p. 400, Sebeos, p. 69. What the Jews actually did is disputable as is the number of Christians killed and taken prisoner. See P. Peeters, 'Un nouveau ms arabe du récit de la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614', *Analecta Bollandiana* 38 (1920) p. 147 note 1 on the latter point.

¹⁷ Michael the Syrian vol. 2 p. 414.

The disorders in Syria and Palestine between 607 and 614 are, in a number of sources, put down to other causes. John of Nikiou believes that all the bloodshed was the result of the insistence of the monophysites on choosing their own bishops in defiance of the imperial prohibition.¹⁸ Michael the Syrian supports this view and clearly describes Jewish misbehaviour as the result and not the cause of the troubled situation.¹⁹ But there was another cause which should be considered. According to Paul the Deacon, it was the circus parties, "the Greens and the Blues," who "about that time produced a state of civil war throughout Egypt and the east accompanied by great slaughter".²⁰ Particularly the riots in Jerusalem, which materially helped the Persians to capture the city, are ascribed to the circus parties in an interesting passage from a valuable contemporary source, which, although readily accessible, has perhaps been insufficiently used:²¹

But in those days there arrived certain wicked men who settled in Jerusalem. Some of them aforetime dwelled in this holy city with the devil's aid. They were named after the dress which they wore and one faction was dubbed the Greens and the other the Blues. They were full of a villainy, and were not content with merely assaulting and plundering the faithful, but were banded together for bloodshed as well as for homicide. There was war and extermination among them and they constantly committed evil deeds against the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Again, after the murder of the patriarch of Antioch, it was against one of the circus parties – the Greens – that the emperor Phocas sent a punitive expedition²² and it was they who were henceforth excluded from his armies.²³ The Jews are not mentioned in that context.²⁴

Certainly, the circus parties included Jews in their ranks. For example, during the reign of the emperor Zeno, they must have been identified with the Blues, for the Greens burned down a synagogue with many Jews inside and then burned the bones of the Jewish dead.²⁵ In the great revolt against Justinian I the Jews, according to one account, pretended to be circus factions engaged in one of their customary brawls,²⁶ while in the

¹⁸ *The Chronicle of John of Nikiou*, transl. R. H. Charles, London 1916, p. 166.

¹⁹ Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 pp. 378–379.

²⁰ *Historia Langobardorum*, bk 4, ch 36 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [= MGH], *Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum*, saecula V–IX, Berlin 1878, p. 128 [16–17]).

²¹ Antiochus Strategos 'The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians' transl. F. Conybeare, *English Historical Review* 25 (1910) p. 503. On the different redactions of this work, see Peeters, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–143.

²² Theoph. 296. 26–297. 4.

²³ Theoph. 297. (4–5).

²⁴ Y. A. Kulakovskiy, 'K Kritiki Izves' tii Feofana o Polsednikh Godov Pravitel'stvo Foki', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 21 (1914) pp. 1–14 was the first to question that the baptism of the Jews was enforced immediately after these events and this is now no longer accepted. Unfortunately it remains as a defect in the standard work on Byzantine Jewry by S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1914, p. 22.

²⁵ Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1831, pp. 389–390, repeated by Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 p. 149.

²⁶ Theoph. 230 (5–8). But Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 p. 262, states that they called themselves 'Pharisians' and 'Ebionites'.

riots at Antioch it could be inferred that the Jews and the Greens were united.²⁷ The Jews also may have changed sides according to the political situation of the day – it is this which seems to be implied in the story of Jacob the Jew, a convert to Christianity:²⁸

Jacob answered and said, "Because I was possessed of the devil and hated Christ . . . when Phocas was reigning in Constantinople, I, as a Green, denounced the Christians to the Blues, calling them Jews and bastards. And when the Greens burned the Hippodrome and committed misdeeds, I, as a Blue, denounced the Christians as Greens, insulting them as incendiaries and Manicheans. And when Bonosus took vengeance on the Greens at Antioch and slew them, I went into Antioch and denounced many Christians as Greens, as one well-intentioned to the emperor and a Blue. And when the Greens turned upon Bonosus in Constantinople, I also turned upon him – and that most wholeheartedly, seeing that he was a Christian.

The details of this last passage need not be taken too seriously since the evidence of a convert for his activities before conversion is likely to be prejudiced. The salient fact which does emerge is the extent to which the Jews were involved in the struggle of the factions.

There exists another text which helps to show that during the sixth and early seventh centuries there must have been a close connection between the Jews and the hippodrome. In 1872, J. Perles published a late *midrash* entitled *Circus and Throne of Solomon the King*.²⁹ It remained unnoticed by students of Byzantine history until Professor Grégoire alluded to a striking passage in it where the spectators are described divided according to their importance and wearing colours corresponding to those of the circus parties.³⁰ Perles had already pointed out in his commentary on the text that in many details the building attributed to Solomon and the functions taking place there resembled in many ways the hippodrome at Constantinople.³¹ The probability that the *midrash* therefore, is describing the hippodrome through the eyes of a Byzantine Jew has some significance. There are many passages in Jewish post-Biblical literature forbidding attendance at the circus or associating with its activities³² but they

²⁷ There are other passages, such as in the famous 'Mandator' dialogue preserved by Theophanes, where the term 'Jew', there applied to the Greens, is most likely simply a term of abuse. (Theoph. 182. 16).

²⁸ *Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizati*, ed. I. Bonwetsch (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen) N. F. 12, 3 (1910) 38.27–39.10, and ed. F. Nau, PO vol. 8 pp. 776–777.

²⁹ See *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 21 (1872) pp. 122–139. Text also in A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, Leipzig 1853, vol. 2 pp. 83–86.

³⁰ H. Grégoire, 'Le peuple de Constantinople ou les Bleus et les Verts', *Compte rendu de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, Paris 1946, p. 577. See Perles p. 123 and *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. 11 p. 442.

³¹ Perles pp. 123–127. Solomon's hippodrome is 3 parasangs by 1 and that of Constantinople could be 450 metres by 117½ – almost the same proportion. See A. Vogt, 'L' Hippodrome de Constantinople', *Byzantion* 10 (1935) p. 472. The *midrash* also closely follows the description given of the hippodrome in Malalas, pp. 173–176.

³² For example, in the Talmud, *Tractate Abodah Zarah* 16B and 18B and in *Midrash Rabbah*, Lamentations, Proem. III and XVIII.

are all based on a concept of the circus as a place of death or of frivolous spectacles.³³ There is not a single reference to chariot racing. In this *midrash*, however, it is the chief activity and nothing is said of displays of clowning or of violence.³⁴ It is not unlikely that as the character of the displays in the circus changed the prohibitions tended to lapse. The author of the *midrash*, then, clearly a Jew of this later period when the old Roman circus had turned into the comparatively harmless hippodrome, would naturally accord to Solomon a leading part in what had become an important activity of his own community. Although it is impossible to assign a definite date to this *midrash*, the passage dealing with the colours does seem to link it with the period when the parties were prominent, and helps to prove how fully Jew mixed with non-Jew in the life of the hippodrome. It is, therefore, only as members of the parties that the Jews on many occasions must have taken part in the disorders of the time. They could only have been a small group amongst the Greens or Blues in one or other of the imperial cities where the hippodrome was notoriously the centre of riot and rebellion during the sixth and early seventh century.³⁵

There is reason to suppose that Heraclius, after his victory over the Persians, was himself by no means convinced that any part of the blame for the disasters suffered by the empire in the last decade rested on the Jews. During his triumphal journey through Palestine he accepted the hospitality of a rich Jew, Benjamin of Tiberias, and promised that he would do not harm to his correlative religionists. His mind was changed by the persuasions of certain monks of Jerusalem, who swore to take on themselves the sin of a broken oath, and a great slaughter of the Jews then took place according to Eutychius,³⁶ though, according to Theophanes, the only action taken even then by Heraclius was to expel the Jews from the holy city.³⁷ Two years earlier the emperor had given another indication that he was not irrevocably bent on an antisemitic policy. He had sent his brother Theodore against the city of Edessa where the Persians garrison, supported by a large contingent of Jews, continued to resist after the treaty of peace had been signed. The Persians withdrew, and the Jews, fearing Theodore's vengeance, sent one of their number to Heraclius to ask for his protection. This was readily given, in time to prevent a massacre.³⁸ It was two years after the re-establishment of imperial power,

³³ In *Abodah Zarah* 18 B, clowns and buffoons appear in the circus, in *Abodah Zarah* 16 B, the circus is associated with the executioner's scaffold, and in *Tractate Baba Kamma* 39 A circus animals are said to be specifically trained for murder.

³⁴ See the text, Perles, p. 133.31-p. 134. 7. Cages of birds and beasts are hung at the *sheni torim (duae metae)* but they are for purposes of decoration only - Perles, 134 (18-19).

³⁵ For the circus parties in city life see above all the important monograph of G. Manojlovič, 'Le Peuple de Constantinople', *Byzantion* 11 (1936) pp. 617-716.

³⁶ Eutychius, *Annales*, MPG vol. 111 cols. 1089-1091.

³⁷ Theoph. 328 (15-28).

³⁸ Sebeos, p. 94, Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 p. 410. The two versions differ only slightly.

when new invaders had begun to threaten the safety of Palestine, that Heraclius issued the decree enforcing baptism on the Jews – a crude and belated attempt to ensure the loyalty of a section of the population.³⁹ In this connection it should be noted that Starr has pointed out the weakness of the tradition which links this decree with similar actions by Sisibut, king of the Visigoths and Dagobert, king of the Franks. He would accordingly “absolve the Byzantine Emperor from the international anti-Jewish influence long attributed to him”.⁴⁰ In any event, the decree of 632 was scarcely the simple result of a long record of Jewish disloyalty and of growing imperial anti-semitism but rather of a particular set of circumstances – just as a similar decree, issued by the emperor Maurice at the beginning of his reign, did not spring from a sudden increase in anti-Jewish sentiment but had had the intention of convincing his own supporters of his loyalty to the church.⁴¹

The immediate effects of the decree were undoubtedly serious for some of the Jewish communities. In the original version of the *Doctrina* there is merely an allusion to compulsory baptism at Carthage,⁴² but in later Slavonic and Ethiopic versions the ruthlessness with which the imperial orders were enforced is vividly described.⁴³ In Palestine these events are reflected in two Hebrew texts. One of them, almost certainly contemporary, is the *Sefer Zerubabel*, a Jewish Apocalypse, in which the enemy of the Messiah, ‘Armilus’, has been from internal evidence identified with Heraclius, and the sufferings he will cause to Israel before the coming of the Messiah himself with the sufferings of the Jews in Palestine just before the Arab invasion.⁴⁴ The same ‘Armilus’ appears in the other text (*Otot ha-Mashia*) where, again, the events foretold before the coming of the Messiah are probably a poetic description of those taking place in Palestine at the same period.⁴⁵ In Palestine, too, there was further interference with the service of the synagogue according to Rabbi Yehudai, a teacher at the Academy of Sura in Mesopotamia, writing about a century later. Week-day services and the recital of the *Shema* were prohibited and imperial officials made sure that the prohibition was re-

³⁹ The publication by R. Devreesse of the conclusion of a letter on this subject written at Carthage by Maximus makes it clear that the decree was issued not later than May, 632, see J. Starr, ‘St. Maximus and the Forced Baptism at Carthage in 632’ *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* 16 (1940) 192–193, rather than in 634 (Dölger, *Regesten*, 207). In *B. Z.* 41 (1941) 539 Professor Dölger has associated himself with this opinion.

⁴⁰ J. Starr, ‘St. Maximus and the Forced Baptism’, p. 196.

⁴¹ John of Nikiou, p. 162.

⁴² Bonwetsch 90 (11–14) and ‘St. Maximus’ p. 192.

⁴³ See J. Starr, ‘Byzantine Jewry’, p. 288.

⁴⁴ Ed. and transl. I. Levi, ‘L’Apocalypse de Zerubabel’, *Revue des Études Juives* (= REJ) 68 (1914) pp. 131–150. See the text p. 136. 9–137. 1. Text also ed. A. Jellinek, op. cit. pp. 54–57. For a discussion of the probable date, see the commentary by I. Levi, REJ 69 (1920) pp. 108–115.

⁴⁵ See the Geniza fragment published by L. Marmorstein, ‘Les Signes du Messie’, REJ 52 (1906) pp. 181–186, especially the text 183 (3–7) and 184 (18–19).

spected.⁴⁶ As a result of this persecution many Palestinian Jews fled to the advancing Arabs, despite their dislike of the new religion.⁴⁷ But there were Jews in other parts of the empire who seem to have been left undisturbed. It is known, for example, that in southern Italy and Sicily at the end of the sixth century there was a large community on the papal estates which was allowed to rent land.⁴⁸ It appears to have lived unmolested throughout the persecutions since a later reference to it describes it as still engaged in agriculture and including prosperous farmers.⁴⁹ In Constantinople itself the decree cannot have been very rigidly applied for the author of the *Doctrina* was permitted to solemnise a commercial contract "in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob".⁵⁰

When Palestine and Syria had fallen to the Arabs, the Jews who had suffered most ceased to be imperial subject. It was that portion of Byzantine Jewry which had suffered least during the previous three decades that remained within the empire and it is from information about these remaining communities that the attitude of the successors of Heraclius to the Jews must be judged. Such information is, unfortunately, very scanty. Krauss in his historical section can say nothing at all about the period between the death of Heraclius and the accession of Leo III,⁵¹ and Starr, writing about a quarter of a century after Krauss, can produce little more.⁵² Part of the difficulty is that the only first hand account of the distribution of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire and of their manner of life is by the Spanish Jew Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the empire in the second half of the twelfth century,⁵³ and whose observations can scarcely be used with confidence in any attempt to describe the Jews at a very much earlier period. But the contemporary references that do exist have a particular interest and from them something about the state of Byzantine

⁴⁶ See J. Mann, 'Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) pp. 252-259. The *Shema* - Hear O Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is one - is perhaps the most important part of the liturgy.

⁴⁷ Sebeos, pp. 94-95, Theoph. 333 (4-13). The latter account shows how unwise it would be to assume much Jewish sympathy for Islām. Between 624 and 627, many Jews in al-Hijāz refusing conversion were massacred by the Muslims, an action celebrated in the Qu'ran (Surah 33, verses 26 and 27).

⁴⁸ The pope Gregory I refers to his Jewish tenants in a number of his letters. See especially one to the sub-deacon Peter instructing him to remit a third of the rent to those Jews deciding to accept Christianity (*Gregorii Epistolae* II. 58 = MPL vol. 77 col. 566).

⁴⁹ Ahima'as of Oria, *Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. B. Halper, *Anthology of Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature*, Philadelphia 1921, Text: 66. 2. and see J. Starr, 'The Jews in the Byzantine Empire', pp. 100-102.

⁵⁰ Bonwetsch 90 (5-11).

⁵¹ *Studien* pp. 35-36.

⁵² J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 1-2 and pp. 83-90.

⁵³ *Sefer Masa'ot*, ed. and transl. M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, Text pp. 12-18. For a discussion of the date, see introduction p. 1 note 2. See Starr, 'The Jews in the Byz. Empire', p. 228-234.

Jewry during the remain of the seventh century can be gathered. That a community continued to flourish at Constantinople may be inferred from the fact that, in 641, Jews took a leading part in the popular uprising which drove out the patriarch Pyrrhus, a supporter of Martina the widow of Heraclius, and ensured the crowning of his grandson Constans.⁵⁴ The importance of the Sicilian community has already been noticed. In 653, Jewish influence in Syracuse was strong enough to enlist the help of the *princeps*, a powerful imperial official, when some Jewish merchants or immigrants wished to rebuild a synagogue.⁵⁵ There is evidence that about 680 sufficient numbers lived in Cappadocia to produce scholars of note.⁵⁶ The Quinisext Council of 692 recognised the existence of many Jews in the empire living in apparent amity with the Christians, for it found it necessary in its eleventh canon to warn the latter against eating the unleavened bread of the Jews, having recourse to Jewish doctors, or mixing with the Jews in the public baths.⁵⁷ After 632, there is no reference to conversions or persecutions with the possible exception of one enigmatic passage.⁵⁸

There is, therefore, nothing in the sources to show that, apart from the events of 630–632, the Heracleians were especially suspicious of their Jewish subjects or that they pursued a consistent policy in their disfavour. It is true that the persecution of the Jews which broke out at the beginning of the reign of Leo III and for which no reason is explicitly given,⁵⁹ could be evidence of the growth of antisemitism during the last half of the seventh century. But there were special circumstances about that time which go some way towards explaining this event. The Jews under Arab domination had been thrown into a state of great excitement by the first siege of Constantinople (672–678) and hourly expected the destruction of Edom.⁶⁰ In the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, a Persian Jew, Abu Ishāk al-Ispāhani, foretold the coming of the Messiah and led an abortive revolt against the Muslims.⁶¹ The year before the persecution of Leo broke out,

⁵⁴ Nicephorus, Ἱστορία σύντομος ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori Opuscula Historica*, Leipzig 1880, pp. 30. 26–31. 3. See Starr, *The Jews in the Byz. Empire*, p. 84–85.

⁵⁵ *Vita S. Zosimi Episcopi Syracusani*, ch. 3 (= *Acta Sanctorum Martii* vol. 3 p. 839 C). Perhaps the *princeps* was the actual *patricius* or governor of Sicily himself, see Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 87. For the title *patricius*, see C. Diehl, *Etudes Byzantines*, Paris 1905, p. 283.

⁵⁶ See *Τροπαῖα κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν Δαμασκῷ*, ed. G. Bardy, PO vol. 15, p. 234, where Jews, worsted in an argument with Christians, ask them to suspend judgement until they hear the Jews of Cappadocia "valued above all others". For the date see p. 176.

⁵⁷ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et amplissima collectio* vol. 11 col. 945 E.

⁵⁸ Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 p. 453: "At that time (AS 978 = AD 667) many Jews were converted and became Christian." No other references could be found to this episode.

⁵⁹ Theoph. 401 (21–22), Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 p. 490, *Kitāb al-'Unwān*, PO vol. 8 p. 504. The dates given vary slightly. Dölger, *Regesten* 286, gives April, 721 – April, 722.

⁶⁰ J. Mann, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 47 (1927) p. 364.

⁶¹ See Abū Yūsuf al-Kīrkīsani, *Kitāb al-anwār wa'l-marākīb*, *Jewish Quarterly Review* (old series) 7 (1895) p. 705.

a self-styled Messiah arose in Palestine,⁶² and, although the evidence of his influence as far west as Spain is no longer accepted,⁶³ it is by no means unlikely that it did spread a certain way into imperial territory. The feelings that his imposture aroused amongst contemporaries may be reflected by the fact that his punishment is most severe in the earliest source—becoming progressively milder in the later ones as the memory of his misdeeds begins to fade.⁶⁴ Leo's persecution, therefore, may be associated with a crisis in the east just as was that of 630–632. Its character was just as short, lived. In the code of laws known as the *Ecloga* there are no references whatever to the Jews, although it was almost certainly published very shortly after, probably in 726.⁶⁵

A general consideration of the legal position of Byzantine Jewry provides powerful arguments, admittedly all *argumenta e silentio*, that during the whole of the seventh and for most of the eighth century the government saw no reason to emphasise the laws which already existed dealing with the Jews. Justinian I had forbidden them to hold official positions, save the expensive one of the decurionate, to serve in the army,⁶⁶ to own Christian slaves⁶⁷ and to proseletyise among the Christians.⁶⁸ Nothing more is heard of these prohibitions until 797 when they appear in certain additions to the *Ecloga*⁶⁹ which are merely extracts from the law-books of Justinian, and they are not formally re-enacted until the time of Basil I.⁷⁰ It is inconceivable that, if during the seventh century the Jews had become a special problem for the government, there should be no trace of the repetition of any of those laws if not of a stricter version of one or another of them.

A similar argument can be applied to the fiscal position of the Jews. In 429, the *aurum coronarium*, the money contributed by the Jews for the

⁶² *La Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, fourth part transl. J. B. Chabot, Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, fasc. 112, Paris 1895, pp. 25–27, Theoph. 401 (19–20), *Kitāb al-'Uwān*, PO vol. 8 p. 504, Michael the Syrian, vol. 2 p. 490, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J. B. Chabot, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Scriptorum Syrii, série III vol. 14 fasc. I, p. 308 (Paris 1920).

⁶³ See J. Starr, 'Le Mouvement messianique au début du viii-ième siècle' REJ 102 (1937) pp. 81–92.

⁶⁴ According to Dionysius, he is tortured and slain, according to the *Kitāb al-'Uwān*, only slain, according to Michael the Syrian he is punished in an unstated manner after a full confession, according to the 13th century Syrian writer, he has merely to return the money acquired as a result of his imposture.

⁶⁵ See G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, p. 122 note 5.

⁶⁶ *Codex Iustinianus* I. 5. 12 ed. A. Hermann, Leipzig, 1848, vol. 1 pt. ii p. 73.

⁶⁷ Novel. 37 Zachariae von Lingenthal, pp. 209–210.

⁶⁸ C I. I. 7. 1. Hermann, p. 79.

⁶⁹ *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum appendice*, ed. A. G. Mompherratos, Athens 1889, pp. 64–67. For the date see Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 3rd edn. Berlin 1892, p. 18.

⁷⁰ *Basilica* I. 1. 30, LX. 54. 30 and LX. 54. 31, ed. D. Heimbach, *Basilicorum Libri LX*, Leipzig 1833–1850, vol. 1 p. 22, and vol. 5 p. 895.

upkeep of the Jewish patriarchate, was diverted to the imperial treasury by Theodosius II.⁷¹ This provision for a tax on the Jews was continued by Justinian I⁷² but later developments have to be deduced from texts which have given rise to considerable controversy.⁷³ The earliest reference after the times of Justinian which may imply such a tax occurs in a passage accusing the emperor Michael II of oppressing the Christians and of freeing the Jews from their taxes but it is not easy to see whether a special tax in fact is meant.⁷⁴ A similar difficulty arises in a reference to Basil I promising the Jews exemption from taxes on conversion, but here the language used does rather more strongly imply taxation on Jews as such.⁷⁵ There is an apparently much more definite statement in the tenth-century *Kitāb al masālik wa'l mamālik* of the Arab geographer Ibn Khurdādhbah where it is said that in the Byzantine Empire "Jews and idolators pay one dinār a head in addition to one dirhem a hearth each year".⁷⁶ This passage has been accepted as evidence of a tax on Jewry by Professor Dölger and by Andréadès⁷⁷ but has been criticised by Starr on the grounds that the word 'idolators' should really have been translated 'magians' and that the geographer is merely ascribing to the empire the *jizyah* – a familiar tax payable in his day by Jews, Christians and Magians – but under Muslim rule.⁷⁸ An almost identical passage occurs in the *Tabā' i' al-hawān* of al-Marwazi an eleventh century work based on earlier material,⁷⁹ but it is open to the same objection: that there were no magians in the empire and that the author might have had Muslim customs in mind – even if he were not directly copying the passage in Ibn Khurdādhbah. A more important piece of evidence is provided by a chrysobull of Constantine IX who, in 1049, granted the proceeds of a tax on fifteen Jewish families in the island of Chios to the monastery of Νέα

⁷¹ *Codex Theodosianus* 16. 8. 29 (*Theodosiani Libri XVI*, ed. Th. Mommsen, Berlin 1905, vol. 1 pt. ii p. 895).

⁷² C I. I. 9. 17 (Hermann, p. 82)

⁷³ The two principal monographs are by F. Dölger, 'Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz', *Vierteljahrschr. f. Soz.- u. Wirtschaftsgesch.* 26 (1933) pp. 1–24 supporting the existence of a special tax, and by A. Andréadès, 'Les Juifs et le fisc dans l'empire byzantin' *Mélanges Diehl*, Paris 1930, vol. 1 pp. 7–29, on the whole, opposing it.

⁷⁴ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1838, p. 48. See Andréadès, 'Les Juifs et le Fisc', pp. 28–29 and Dölger, 'Die Frage', p. 11 (*Regesten* 414.)

⁷⁵ Theoph. Cont. p. 341. See Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* p. 133 (the reference to Theophanes is given incorrectly). There is no reference to the *aurum coronarium* in the *Basilica* itself. The reference by J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, Paris 1914, vol. 2 p. 287, and by A. Andréadès, 'Les Juifs et le Fisc', p. 10 is to *Basilica* LX 54. 30 (Heimbach vol. 5 p. 895) which in fact deals with attempts at proselytisation by the Jews (see above p. 112, n. 70).

⁷⁶ transl. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. As.* 5 (1865) p. 480.

⁷⁷ 'Les Juifs et le Fisc' p. 12 and 'Die Frage' pp. 5–6.

⁷⁸ Starr, *The Jews in the Byz. Empire* p. 13 and p. 111.

⁷⁹ V. Minorsky, 'Marwazi on the Byzantines', in *Mélanges H. Grégoire* 2 (1950) p. 458.

Μομή.⁸⁰ Despite the objections of Andréadès it is difficult to see in this anything but a reference to some sort of special tax paid by the Jews.⁸¹ Finally, there may be noticed a most interesting letter containing a reference to the Jews of Thessalonica at the end of the eleventh century. The excitement caused by the launching of the First Crusade seems to have communicated itself to them and they had begun to dream of the imminent coming of the Messiah. Their sincere enthusiasm so impressed the emperor Alexius I that they are described as dwelling "in great security, free of the poll-tax (*gulgolet*) and taxes (?) (*'onāshim*)".⁸² The word *'onāshim* has been translated by Starr as "other taxes" although the word "other" does not appear in the Hebrew text. In Neubauer's edition the pointing might indicate the dual form of the word (*'onāshāim*) which would differentiate it clearly from the other term used and would stress the extra taxes Jews had to pay. But apart from a grammatical objection to this reading,⁸³ a study of the photograph of this page of the manuscript in Mann's edition convinces that the word is in its simple plural form.⁸⁴ It then becomes rather more difficult to distinguish it effectively from the other term, but the very fact that it is used at all emphasises that two kinds of taxation must have been involved – probably those paid by the Jews and those paid by the population as a whole.⁸⁵

Evidence is therefore, on the whole, in favour of a special tax on Jews, and, in their last opinions on this question, both Andréadès and Starr came to agree with Professor Dölger that Byzantine Jewry had, in fact, been subject to such a tax.⁸⁶ There must then surely be some importance in the fact that although these and other references to a tax do exist, nothing can be found regarding the Jews and the imperial treasury under the Heracleians or the Isaurians. It is known that both these dynasties

⁸⁰ Dölger, *Regesten* 892. Text in G. Zolōtas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου*, vol. 2, Athens 1924, pp. 282–283.

⁸¹ Andréadès, *Les Juifs et le Fisc* pp. 22–23, Dölger, *Die Frage* pp. 12–14. The terminology differs significantly in a similar grant made in 1044 involving Christian households. See Dölger, *Regesten* 862, and Zolōtas, p. 265.

⁸² This letter has been edited first by A. Neubauer, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Old Series 9 (1897) pp. 27–29, and then by J. Mann, *The Messianic movements in the First Crusade*, 'Ha-Tequfah' 23 (1925) pp. 253–259 (in Hebrew).

⁸³ With Neubauer's pointing the word would be in its "pausal" form, i. e. at the end of a phrase or sentence. Its actual position makes this inappropriate.

⁸⁴ Mann, *The Messianic Movements*, p. 255. I am indebted to Mr. Aryeh Rubinstein of Manchester for drawing my attention to the problem of *'onāshim* in this text. My remarks are based on his elucidation.

⁸⁵ See Dölger, *Die Frage*, p. 14 note 3, for possible Greek equivalents. D. Kaufman, *A hitherto unknown Messianic Movement* *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Old Series 10 (1898) p. 146 accepts Neubauer's pointing and calls it a double tax. Later he has translated it "more rigorous tax" – a term not in the text. See Andréadès, *Les Juifs et le Fisc*, p. 11 note 9.

⁸⁶ A. Andréadès, *The Jews in the Byz. Empire*, *Econ. Hist.* 3 (1934) pp. 1–23, J. Starr, *Romania*, Paris 1949, pp. 111–113, – though the latter still thought that the tax was instead of and not in addition to the ordinary taxes.

were deeply concerned with administrative reform and it might be expected that, had the events of 630-32 and 721-22 been part of an exceptionally anti-semitic policy, some signs would have remained of consequent measures in the financial sphere - for example, attempts to increase revenue at the expense of the Jews. In any case, the value of either could only be small for the actual period under discussion. In the seventh century, even before the loss of its richest territories, the government had been in great financial difficulties. Heraclius had been compelled to borrow large sums both from the laity and from the clergy⁸⁷ while the young Constantine was constrained by lack of money to seize the very crown from his father's coffin.⁸⁸ When the Arabs overran Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and, later in the century, the whole of North Africa, the position could scarcely have improved. It is significant, therefore, that there is not the slightest trace of any attempt to levy a special tax on that part of the population which was the least likely to make an effective protest.

It is instructive to compare the lot of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire after the decree of 632 with that of the Jews in Visigothic Spain. During the second half of the seventh century the position of the latter steadily declined. In 681, the Visigothic King Ervigius issued twenty-eight laws dealing with every aspect of Jewish life which included absolute prohibitions on the keeping of the festivals and on the performance of the marriage rite.⁸⁹ Under King Egica (687-702) the Jews were officially declared slaves and their children were seized from them for conversion.⁹⁰ This was in truth "La politique résolument antisémite". Under the Heraclians, however, no regulations of this kind are to be found. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that they had abandoned the traditional discriminations practised against the Jews by imperial governments.⁹¹ It is reasonable to conclude, however, that such did not play with them the exceptionally important role which might have been expected in the times through which the empire was passing and in view of other stringent measures which the dynasty did adopt. This conclusion is emphasised by the striking contrast which is to be found between the life of the Jews under the emperors and under the Visigothic kings. The events of 630 to 632, just as those of 721-722, were exceptional storms in a period of comparative calm for the Jews. The Heraclians were able to consolidate their power, reform their administration and, in the end, successfully resist the Arab invaders, without having to resort to the continual persecution of their Jewish minority.

⁸⁷ Theoph. 302. 33 - 303. 3.

⁸⁸ Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiarum*, MPG vol. 121 col. 824C.

⁸⁹ *Leges Visigothorum*, ed. K. Zeumer, MGH: Legum sectio 1: - *Leges Nationum Germanicarum*, vol. 1, Hannover & Leipzig 1902, pp. 426-456.

⁹⁰ See J. Juster, 'La Condition légale des Juifs sous les rois visigoths', *Etudes d'histoire juridique offertes à Paul Frédéric Girard*, Paris 1913, vol. 2 pp. 279-298.

⁹¹ For a succinct account of the restrictions progressively placed on the Jews by the emperors from Constantine to Theodosius II see J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, London 1938, pp. 12-14.

THE JEWS, THE MONTANISTS AND THE EMPEROR LEO III

A familiar passage in the Chronicle of Theophanes tells us that in the year A. M. 6214 (= A. D. 721-2) the Emperor Leo III ordered the forcible baptism of all Jews and Montanists.¹ This information has attracted little special attention. Those whose field of interest has been either the Byzantine Empire as such or Byzantine Jewry specifically have usually been content to note it as a comparatively rare instance of a Byzantine emperor directly coercing his Jewish subjects.² The reference to the Montanists, if at all thought worthy of mention, has been accepted as no more than an ordinary example of normal Byzantine policy towards heretics.³ Yet the passage deserves closer analysis. This is what Theophanes says: „τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἠνάγκασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ τοὺς Μοντανοὺς βαπτίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπροαιρέτως βαπτιζόμενοι ἀπελούοντο τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ ἐσθίοντες μετελάμβανον τὴν ἁγίαν δωρεάν καὶ ἔχραινον τὴν πίστιν. οἱ δὲ Μοντανοὶ διαμαντεύσαντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὄρισαντες ἡμέραν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς ὠρισμένους οἴκους τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν καὶ κατέκαυσαν ἑαυτούς“. Here is an unambiguous enough statement, where neither the event described, nor the language used to describe it, would seem to need much interpretation. The reference to the Montanists, however, does raise certain problems.

The first is that they appear at all in such a context. It is well enough known that this sect of Phrygian visionaries separated from the Church towards the end of the second century and that, at various subsequent periods, it attracted disciples both in the eastern and in the western terri-

¹ Theophanis chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig (1883) (= Theoph.), 401 (21-27). For this period Theophanes' dating is likely to be accurate, see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd ed. transl. by J. M. Hussey, Oxford (1956), p. 80; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, Munich-Berlin (1924), pt. 1, no. 286.

² E. g. Ostrogorsky, p. 142; C. Diehl - G. Marçais, *Le Monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, Paris (1944), p. 262; on the Jewish side, S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 3, New York (1957), pp. 175-6, 313-4; J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Athens (1939), pp. 2-3, 8, 91-92. See also A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century*, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 48 (1955), p. 115. It may be worth stressing that although the present intention is to modify this view, the prefatory note (p. 104) needs, after ten years, no modification: Starr's collection of sources remains invaluable, and his place in Byzantine-Jewish historiography remains unfilled.

³ Neither Ostrogorsky nor Diehl thought the Montanists worth mentioning in this context; E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, London (1932), p. 26, called both parts of the decree "Leo's policy of a simplification of religion".

tories of the Empire.⁴ It established its own hierarchy, maintained by a system of regular financial contributions.⁵ In the year 530 it was proscribed by Justinian,⁶ while about twenty-five years later the churches of its chief centre Papouza,⁷ together with the supposed bones of its eponymous founder, were burned by John of Ephesus – again on imperial instructions.⁸ But, in these later stages, the Montanists had begun to split into quite disparate groups, only loosely connected by a vague tradition. In this weaker form they may indeed have persisted in Asia Minor until the Seljuḡ invasions, but they can have born little relation to the movement which had once fascinated Tertullian, and can hardly have been thought of as very dangerous by the authorities. In fact, after the action taken by Justinian, Montanists are scarcely mentioned until this notice by Theophanes, that is, after nearly two hundred years.⁹ It is, therefore, not easy to understand why Leo should have paid them such specific attention during the first years of his reign, when his chief concern was to restore the stability of the Empire after a long period of internal disorder and external danger.

A second, and more serious problem is the use of the word βαπτίζεσθαι. The exact procedure for the reception of heretics back into the Church had not infrequently been the subject of dispute. On one point, however, orthodox opinion was clear enough: Anyone baptised once, even by heretics, could not be baptised a second time – whatever other ceremonies he might have to undergo.¹⁰ A bishop of Tarragona had been threatened with excommunication by Pope Siricius if he persisted in his intention of baptising a second time those who had been baptised by Arians – both in the East and in the West tradition permitted one baptism only.¹¹ And this ruling found, of course, its most familiar expression in St. Augustine's polemic

⁴ For a general account and a bibliography, see G. Bardy, "Montanisme", *Dict. théol. cathol.* 10 (1929), cols. 2355–2370; the standard works are still by P. Labriolle, *La Crise montaniste* and *Les sources de l'histoire de montanisme*, both Paris (1913).

⁵ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 16; ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca* (= MPG) vol. 20, col. 469B; ed. D. N. Bonwetsch, *Texte zur Geschichte des Montanismus*, Bonn (1914), 7 (21).

⁶ *Codex Justinianus*, I. 5. 20; iii–vii.

⁷ For the location of this place-name, see W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. 1, pt. 1, Oxford (1895), p. 213.

⁸ *La Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and transl. by J. B. Chabot, 4 vols., Paris (1899–1910) (= *Michael the Syrian*), vol. 2, pp. 269–270; in the time of the Emperor Justin another set of bones had been burned which turned out to be the wrong ones – the local priest had been bribed by the Montanists.

⁹ Labriolle, *La Crise*, p. 536; cf. Ramsay, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1897), p. 574. They are no more than formally included in lists of heresies; see Labriolle, *Les sources*, pp. 241–243.

¹⁰ For a general account of such ceremonies and for the bibliography, see V. Ermoni, *Abjuration*, *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, 1 (1924), cols. 98–103.

¹¹ "quod etiam totus Oriens Occidensque custodit: a quo tramite vos quoque posthac minime convenit deviare, si non vultis a nostro collegio synodali sententia separari" – Siricii epistolae I, 1., ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina* (= MPL), vol. 13 col. 1134; cf. a similar decision by Pope Vigilius, *Vigilli epistolae* II. 4., MPL vol. 69, col. 18.

against the Donatists.¹² It is true that Gregory the Great, while giving substantially the same ruling, added that certain sects and, among them, the "Cataphrygae" that is, the Montanists,¹³ had to be re-baptised.¹⁴ But this apparent exception should be treated with reserve. Gregory asserted that, in the case of the Montanists, there had been no real baptism since they had a perverted understanding of the Holy Spirit and thus of the Trinity.¹⁵ But it was precisely this kind of objection which the Church had already rejected: if the correct trinitarian formula had been pronounced at baptism it was sufficient – however perversely it might be interpreted.¹⁶ And it may even be that Gregory was wrong on the facts. According to Epiphanius, one of the normally accepted authorities on heretics, the Montanists understood the Trinity in a wholly Catholic sense.¹⁷ These theological objections to the likelihood of a second baptism for Montanists¹⁸ are supported by the circumstance that in no other instance of persecution is such a procedure mentioned. Justinian, for example, is simply said to have ordered them to change their faith without any reference to baptism, forced or otherwise.¹⁹

A third problem is posed by the close resemblance between the story, as told by Theophanes, of the Montanists' heroic decision to burn themselves alive rather than submit to the decree of Leo III, and that told by Procopius of an identical end to their persecution by Justinian.²⁰ Such a repetition is suspect. In the present instance it constitutes an additional reason for viewing Theophanes' reference to the Montanists with considerable reserve.

The question of Theophanes and the Montanists cannot be treated in isolation. It has to be approached together with his reference to the Jews and compared to other accounts of Leo's persecution. These fall into two groups. On the one hand, there are those which obviously copy Theopha-

¹² De baptismo contra Donatistas S. Augustini liber I, 1, MPL vol. 43, col. 109.

¹³ A common name for the Montanists from ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις cf. H. Grégoire, Epigraphie chrétienne – les inscriptions hérétiques d'Asie Mineure, Byzantion 1 (1924), pp. 695–710.

¹⁴ S. Gregorii Magni epistolae X, 17., MPL vol. 77, cols. 1206 B–1207 A.

¹⁵ "hi vero haeretici qui in Trinitatis nomine minime baptizantur, sicut sunt . . . Cataphrygae, quia . . . sanctum Spiritum perverso sensu esse quendam pravum hominem Montanum credunt . . . cum ad sanctam Ecclesiam veniunt, baptizantur, quia baptisma non fuit, quod, in errore positi, in sanctae Trinitatis nomine minime perceperunt."

¹⁶ Cf. the views of Pope Stephen I as reported in Epistola Firmiliani ad Cyprianum, MPL vol. 3, cols. 1160–1163; G. Bareille, "Baptême des Hérétiques", Dict. théol. cathol. 2 (1910), cols. 228–229.

¹⁷ S. Epiphanius adversus haereses XLVIII, MPG vol. 41, col. 856 B: "περὶ δὲ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος φρονουσι ὁμοίως τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ".

¹⁸ Bardy, col. 2369, while admitting the weight of such objections, leaves the question open.

¹⁹ "δὲξαν τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκέλευε μετατίθεσθαι" Procopius, Anecdota, XI, 15.

"δὲξης τῆς πατρὸς τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἠνάγκαζον μεταβάλλεσθαι" ibid, XI, 21.

²⁰ Ibid. XI. 23.

nes, and so have little importance in the present context. Thus, for example, Cedrenus tells the same story with insignificant changes of wording,²¹ while in the chronicle of Ekkehard there merely appears an exact Latin translation from Theophanes.²² On the other hand, there are those which, somehow or other, have formed versions of their own. The most striking variation is to be found in the account by Leo the Grammarian. This is what he ascribes to the Emperor:²³

„ἐβάπτισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀναγκαστῶς, ὥστε λέγεσθαι ἔκτοτε τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ Μοντανούς.”

The curious connection made here between Montanists and Jews has, perhaps not surprisingly, received little attention. Leo has, normally, no independent value for this period, while the one comparable notice, in the chronicle of George the Monk, not only suffers from the same disadvantage but also happens to occur in a section whose whole authenticity is problematic.²⁴ Starr dismissed this passage in Leo as a confused rendering of Theophanes, perhaps influenced by the indiscriminate use of “Jew” and “Montanist” as derogatory epithets.²⁵ Professor Baron has agreed with Starr.²⁶ Neither mention George the Monk.²⁷

It seems that the only one to have taken Leo the Grammarian seriously was the Russian Jewish scholar V. N. Beneshevitch. He believed that this version of the persecutions could explain the presence of a scholium to the tenth century text of an abjuration formula required from Jewish converts to Christianity. It runs as follows:²⁸

„ὅτι οἱ Μοντανοὶ κερχωρισμένοι τοῦ Ἑβραϊκοῦ ἔθους καὶ τῆς τούτων καταστάσεως λέγονται, οἷον ἀφωρισμένοι καὶ ἔξω τῆς συναγωγῆς αὐτῶν ὄντες διὰ τινὰς αἰτίας, εἰ δὲ πάλιν ὑποστρέψωσι δέχονται αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁμόφρονας καὶ τάσσουσιν αὐτοὺς μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν ὡς τὸ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς.”

It was the origins of this Jewish sect, described for no apparent reason by the scholiast, since the formula itself has no mention of it,²⁹ which was the

²¹ Georgii Cedreni historiarum compendium, MPG, vol. 121, col. 869C.

²² Ekkehardi chronicon universale sub anno 723 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica vol. 6, p. 157).

²³ Leonis Grammatici chronographia, ed. B. G. Niebuhr, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn (1842), p. 179; cf. Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 92–3.

²⁴ Georgii monachi hamartoli chronicon, MPG vol. 110, col. 928A. On Leo and George as sources, see Ostrogorsky, p. 130. Migne copied E. Muralt’s edition, St. Petersburg (1859), pp. 638–639. This section is entirely omitted by C. de Boor in his collation of the extant mss., Leipzig, 2 vols., (1904).

²⁵ Starr, *The Jews*, p. 92.

²⁶ Baron, vol. 3 (1957), p. 314 (note 3).

²⁷ The only modern writer to cite George the Monk in this context (without discussion) is J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London (1934), p. 266 (note 1).

²⁸ V. N. Beneshevitch, *On the History of the Jews in Byzantium from the 6th to the 10th Century* (in Russian), *Yevreiskaya Misl’* 2 (1926), p. 318; for an English version cf. Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 177–178.

²⁹ For two alternative texts of the formula, see Beneshevitch, pp. 305–7; 308–316. For an English rendering of the second one, see Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 173–176; cf. F. Cumont,

subject, according to Beneshevitch, of Leo the Grammarian's strange assertion. Far from misunderstanding Theophanes, he was referring to a quite separate consequence of the persecution.

About the year 720, there had arisen in Syria a false messiah called Severus or Serenus. His supporters had two main characteristics: a strong inclination to minimise, perhaps entirely to deny the validity of the Oral Law and an insistence on Jewish national aspirations. Their influence spread far beyond Syria.³⁰ According to Beneshevitch, the phrase "so that henceforth the Jews were also known as Montanists" referred to the specific effect this movement had on some Byzantine Jews. They, too, began to stress the purely nationalist side of Judaism as against the ceremonially religious and the Bible as against the Talmud. They were ready to look sympathetically upon Christianity, perhaps to develop elements of syncretism. This was why they and their later followers were labelled with the name of a Christian heresy. It was this tendency, rather than the motives of policy ascribed by Theophanes to Byzantine Jewry in general, which caused these particular Jews to offer but little resistance to the Emperor's decree.³¹

Next, Beneshevitch made use of the fact that a well known *responsum* of the Gaon Naṭronai, ruling on the correct procedure for receiving certain sectarians back into the congregation of Israel, can be taken as referring to these followers of Severus.³² He suggested, but without actually mentioning the *responsum*, that this procedure was sufficiently close to the procedure described by the scholiast. Finally, he completely accepted the notice in Theophanes. The conclusion to be drawn from his argument must be that the persecutions produced three distinct reactions: the mass of Byzantine Jewry casually agreed to be baptised and then "washed off their baptism"; the "real" Montanists preferred suicide to apostasy; the "Jewish" Montanists did not feel impelled to resist – not because of fear or apathy but because of their specific religious attitude. This was an ingenious hypothesis which Beneshevitch might, indeed, have supported further by adding that Severus himself was a Christian – most probably to the

Une formule grecque de renonciation au judaïsme, Wiener Studien 24 (1902) (Festheft E. Bormanns), pp. 230–240.

³⁰ This false messiah was first given his place in Jewish history by H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4th edn., vol. 5, Leipzig (1909), pp. 457–460; cf. a shortened English version of an earlier edition, vol. 4, Philadelphia (1894), pp. 121–122. The fullest treatment is by Starr, "Le mouvement messianique au début du VIII^e siècle", *Revue des Etudes Juives* (= REJ) 102 (1937), pp. 81–92.

³¹ Beneshevitch, pp. 215–217.

³² For the text of the *responsum*, see *תשובות הגאונים, שערי צדק* (Responsa of the Geonim, Gates of Righteousness), Salonika (1792) p. 24 (no. 7, no. 10); for its assumed reference to Serenus/Severus, based on the emendation of *שרייע* to *שרני*, see L. Ginsberg, *Geonica*, vol. 2, New York (1929), pp. 50–51 (note 1); cf. Starr, *Le Mouvement*, p. 91; Baron, vol. 5, pp. 380–382 (note 58). The vexed question of whether Naṭronai I bar Nehemiah (middle of eighth century) or Naṭronai II bar Hilai (middle of ninth century) was the author of the *responsum* does not affect the present argument.

end of his messianic career.³³ But Beneshevitch raised problems at least as serious as those which he claimed to have solved.

In the first place, his hypothesis does not explain why the Byzantine followers of Severus were particularly described as Montanists and were not given the name of some other Byzantine heresy. Beneshevitch admitted this difficulty but was confident that an examination of the sources would overcome it by revealing previous instances of friendly contact between Montanists and Jews, especially since the scholium could, he thought, be explained in no other way. Evidence apparently pointing to such contact does occur. For example, an early accusation against the Montanists alleged that the synagogue was not nearly so hostile to them as it was to the true believers.³⁴ But this is scarcely convincing. Accusations of Judaizing were, of course, common in theological disputes, a circumstance which makes most of the evidence of supposed sympathy between Montanist and Jew and, therefore, any argument based upon such evidence, at least doubtful.³⁵

A more serious objection is the difficulty of accepting that any Jewish sect of that period could have been encouraged by its anti-traditionalism to offer little resistance to baptism. The Karaites, for example, the best-known and most uncompromising opponents of the Rabbis, had no sympathy whatever for Christianity, despite the occasionally remarkable similarities between Karaite and Christian polemic against Rabbinical methods of exegesis.³⁶ It is no easier to believe that enthusiastic messianists who stressed their Jewish nationalism, whatever their religious attitude may precisely have been, could readily have submitted to a ceremony which, apart from its religious meaning, inevitably implied submission to the sovereignty of Constantinople. It is this purely political aspect which is stressed by Michael the Syrian: the Jews who accepted baptism were given the title of "new citizens".³⁷ The suggestion, in short, that a nationalist communal movement did not necessarily need to resist the demand of the State for religious conformity infers a distinction between national and religious loyalties which is wholly anachronistic.

³³ The principle sources make this quite clear: see *La chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahre*, 4th pt. trans. J. B. Chabot, Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, fasc. 112, Paris (1895), pp. 25-27; Michael the Syrian, p. 490; Anonymi auctoris ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens, transl. by J. B. Chabot, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptorum Syrii III, serie iii, vol. 14, fasc. 1, Paris (1920), p. 308.*

³⁴ Eusebius, V. 16: MPG vol. 20, col. 469A; Bonwetsch, p. 7 (5-14); cf. Parkes, p. 126.

³⁵ The accusations, for example, of both Judaism and Montanism hurled at the Iconoclasts (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 14, col. 120, cf. Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 92-93) have no more significance than the mutual accusations of Judaizing hurled by the Eastern and Western Churches during the azymotic controversy.

³⁶ Cf. Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, Jerusalem (1959), pp. 39-40 (note 32); pp. 278-279, and his *Some Aspects of the Karaite Attitude to Christians and to Christianity*, Second World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jewish History Section, Jerusalem (1957), pp. 14-15.

³⁷ Michael the Syrian, p. 490.

Yet, in one fundamental respect, Beneshevitch made an important contribution to the question of the forced baptisms under Leo III; an illuminating relation may, indeed, exist between the four passages which have been cited: Theophanes and Leo the Grammarian on the forced baptisms, Naṭronai on the sectarians and the scholiast on the Montanists. The phrase "so that henceforth the Jews were also known as Montanists" need not be due to any confusion. However, its significance, just as its connection with the other passages, should be rather differently understood.

Beneshevitch was right in claiming that Leo the Grammarian was referring to two distinct elements – to the Byzantine Jewish community as a whole, and to a specific group within it. Leo added, as he rarely did for that period, to the information given by Theophanes, and did not misunderstand it. But it is possible to go further and to infer that he corrected this information in an essential particular, thus providing an answer to the question with which this enquiry began: the difficulty of the Montanists in the whole context of the forced baptisms disappears if it be assumed that the Montanists in Theophanes are none other than Leo the Grammarian's Jews who "were also known as Montanists", and that Theophanes, just as Leo, was really speaking of two distinct tendencies within Byzantine Jewry. What was this second tendency? Again, Beneshevitch was right to identify it with those who had fallen under the influence of Severus. But their reaction to the baptisms must have been exactly the opposite of what Beneshevitch suggested. While many Jews may have looked upon the Emperor's demands as no more than a temporary inconvenience, it was precisely the nationalist zealots who fiercely resisted.

This hypothesis of two opposite tendencies within Byzantine Jewry can be supported by placing Severus in the context of two other false messiahs: the so-called "rebel of Pallughthā" in 645³⁸ and the Persian Jew, Abū 'Isa al-Ispahāni, who led a revolt in the reign of the khālīf 'Abd al-Malik (685–705).³⁹ All three had certain basic characteristics in common. All were explicitly anti-traditionalist.⁴⁰ Yet none had any inclination to compromise with either of the two ruling religions, despite instances of apparent parallelisms to both of them.⁴¹ On the contrary, all were inspired by the conviction that the conflict between Byzantium and Islām was nothing less than a precursor of the last days. Both empires would perish and the Jews would inherit their promised land. It was preaching of this kind, indeed, that helped to bring them all to a violent end. It was the

³⁸ *Chronica Minora*, transl. by I. Guidi, CSCO, *Scriptores Syrii III*, vol. 4, pt. 1, Paris (1903), pp. 27–28; cf. Starr, "Le Mouvement", p. 84.

³⁹ Abū Yūsuf Ya'kūb al Kirkiṣāni, *Kitāb al-anwār w'al-marākib*, transl. L. Nemoy, "Al-Qirḳisāni's Account of the Jewish Sects and of Christianity". *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 7 (1930), p. 328; cf. W. Bacher, "Qirḳisani the Karaite and his work on the Jewish Sects", *Jewish Quarterly Review* (old series) 7 (1895), p. 705.

⁴⁰ Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, pp. 7–8.

⁴¹ On such elements in Abu 'Isa, see Baron, vol. 5, pp. 186–7; p. 377 (note 49).

excitement engendered by this conviction which spread to Byzantine Jewry,⁴² powerful enough, probably, to have been reflected in two roughly contemporary apocalyptic texts.⁴³ On the other hand, it is only reasonable to suppose that, as with any extremist movement, the majority remained unaffected. Starr rightly pointed out that suggestions of a general spirit of aggressiveness amongst Byzantine Jews in this period, whether related to the messianic movements or no, were quite without foundation.⁴⁴ This was, in fact, how the two tendencies were created. But the Emperor Leo would scarcely have a mind for fine distinctions. The agitation of a militantly inclined minority proclaiming the imminent destruction of the Empire was sufficient to make of all Jews a direct threat to imperial authority. It was this minority, however, which both provoked the decree commanding forced baptism and uncompromisingly resisted its application.

For the existence of such a minority there is yet other evidence or, at the least, material from which such an inference can reasonably be made. Agapius of Menbidj, who has independent value as a source for this period, states that the Emperor forced Christianity upon the Jews and upon certain others whom he has described by a word whose correct reading is probably *al-Kharanikah*, equivalent to *al-Jarājimah*, a term often used in the Arabic sources for "Mardaites".⁴⁵ This was the name given to a tribe in the mountains of the Lebanon who had caused the Muslims much trouble, for the reason that its basic meaning was "rebel".⁴⁶ It is to be supposed that Agapius used it in this latter sense, since the context can have no relevance for the Mardaites themselves, in other words, that he was speaking of some rebellious group, distinct from the known Jewish community, of whose identity he was not informed. Finally, there may be a reference to this minority in the somewhat mysterious passage of the *Ecloga* which

⁴² J. Mann, (communication from an unpublished paper), *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 47 (1927), p. 364, cf. Baron, vol. 3, p. 176; Starr, *The Jews*, p. 92 (who has reservations).

⁴³ See I. Levi, *L'Apocalypse de Zerubabel* REJ 68 (1914), pp. 131-160; 69 (1920), pp. 57-63; 108-121; L. Marmorstein, *Les signes du Messie*, REJ 52 (1906), pp. 181-186.

⁴⁴ Starr, *The Jews*, pp. 94-95; p. 103; cf. the suggestion by Ostrogorsky, p. 142.

⁴⁵ Agapius of Menbidj, *Kitāb al-Unvan*, ed. and transl. by A. A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 8, p. 504. The reading, and the identification with *al-Jarājimah*, is Vasiliev's; see p. 492 (note 4) and p. 493. Starr, *The Jews*, p. 91, transliterates the Arabic as "HRS", without explanation. Baron, vol. 3, p. 176 quotes the passage as "he made the Jews and the (Montanists) embrace Christianity", but does not explain his insertion of "(Montanists)". On Agapius as a source for the eighth century, see E. W. Brooks, *The Sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers*, B. Z. 15 (1906), pp. 578-587.

⁴⁶ On the activities of *al-Jarājimah*, see *al-Balādhuri*, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, trans. P. K. Hitti - F. C. Murgotten, *Columbia College Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, pt. 1, New York (1916), pp. 247-249; cf. A. Sharf, *The Defence of Byzantium's Eastern Frontier and the Mardaites*, *Annual of Bar-Ilan University*, 1 (1963), pp. 234-245 (in Hebrew). On the equivalence of *al-Jarājimah* and the Mardaites, and on the meaning of "Mardaite", see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, eighth edition, London (1964), p. 204.

declares that "Manichaeans and Montanists shall suffer death by the sword".⁴⁷ Whoever these Manichaeans may have been,⁴⁸ it may be supposed that the Montanists were, once again, none other than this same minority whose extremism made it directly dangerous to the state, thus attracting a penalty which was, on the whole, unusual in Byzantine legislation of the period.⁴⁹ Such an interpretation would explain, more satisfactorily than has been previously, why, so shortly after the decree against the Jews, there is apparently no mention of them whatsoever in the *Ecloga*.⁵⁰

Of course, the messianic excitement died down. The threat to imperial unity receded. The death penalty was probably never exacted – at any rate, the legal status of Byzantine Jewry certainly remained unaltered.⁵¹ And the messianists also remained,⁵² but only as a heresy within Jewry of no interest to the authorities. Their Montanist sobriquet, however, was odd enough to attract the attention of the scholiast, while their past glories gave them sufficient communal importance to merit a Rabbinical *responsum*.

How came such a sect to be associated with Montanism? The answer does not lie in any real similarity, as Beneshevitch thought, but, first of all, in a particular impression of it reflected in the Christian sources. It is noteworthy that there is evidence of an interpretation in explicitly Christian terms. Thus Theophanes asserts that Severus deceived the Jews by claiming to be "the Christ, the Son of God".⁵³ This report of a Christian messiah who attracted Jewish followers may be the basis for the hitherto totally inexplicable statement of Michael the Syrian that, about the year A. S. 978 (= A. D. 667), "many Jews converted and became Christians".⁵⁴ In other words, the impression may have existed that the messianic excite-

⁴⁷ *Ecloga*, XVIII, 52; cf. E. H. Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge (1932), p. 113.

⁴⁸ In 811, they were identified (again as subject to the death penalty) with the Paulicians; see Theol. 494 (33)–495 (3). But there is no evidence on whom the *Ecloga* meant.

⁴⁹ Cf. R. S. Lopez, *Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century and its Reception by the Germans and Arabs*, Byzantion 16 (1942–43), 445–461; W. Ensslin, *The Emperor and Imperial Administration*, Byzantium, Oxford (1948), p. 292.

⁵⁰ Starr, *The Jews*, p. 94, deliberately included this passage as negative evidence: i. e. that the Empire was by then too busy with internal troubles to pay attention to the Jewish question. However, even if his dating of the *Ecloga* to 741, instead of the usually accepted 726 (see Ostrogorsky, p. 134, note 6) be correct, the shortness of the interval still needs explaining.

⁵¹ Cf. Baron, vol. 3, pp. 186–187.

⁵² On the dating of Abū 'Isa's sect, the longest lasting of the three, see Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, pp. 214–215 (note 22); J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 2, Philadelphia (1935), p. 303 (note 6).

⁵³ Theoph. 401 (19–20).

⁵⁴ Michael the Syrian, for p. 453. The fact that this notice appears in the section normally for events in the Eastern Patriarchates, as Starr, *The Jews*, p. 87, points out, is no great help. Numerous conversions to Christianity of Jews under Muslim rule are surely inconceivable.

ment which, at the beginning of Leo's reign, apparently constituted a challenge to imperial authority, had been engendered by a Christian-led sect. Secondly, the possibility cannot be excluded that this sect acquired a Christian colouring in the sources because Christians were in fact attracted to it, as it is known they were to other Jewish messianic movements.⁵⁵

If it be accepted that this Byzantine Jewish minority did acquire some sort of Christian reputation in addition to one of militant nationalism, it is not difficult to suggest why it should also have acquired a Montanist label. The Montanists were primarily known for a messianism whose intense and peculiar character was one of the chief causes for the original accusations of heresy brought against them. Both Montanus himself and his immediate successors were believed to be either in special communion with the Holy Spirit, or the actual incarnations of the Paraclete.⁵⁶ They were messiahs; for the mission of the Paraclete was, in the words of the New Testament, to show the faithful "the signs of the last things".⁵⁷ Further, their leaders were the harbingers of the physical establishment of the New Jerusalem, and it was this which gave their spiritual fervour a highly practical secular meaning. Their New Jerusalem was prefigured by Papouza, which thus became, for the time being, the promised land of a chosen people who would accept no external earthly rule. It was primarily this claim to communal independence which made them seem especially dangerous in the eyes of the authorities. It may be no accident that the two occasions when Justinian ordered their destruction both coincide with his decrees, followed by a military expedition, against the Samaritans,⁵⁸ since the Montanists, too, were thought of in a state of potential, if not of active rebellion.

This reputation of dissidence and messianism combined led to the allegation of Montanism against the Jewish messianic nationalists, who were an irritating obstacle for Leo III in his struggle to re-unite the Empire – very much as the real Montanists had been for Justinian. It is this allegation which has been preserved, although in a garbled form, by Leo the Grammarian. And that same tradition of Montanist intransigence misled Theophanes. Aware that there had been two quite distinct reactions to the Emperor's decree, he ascribed the extremist one to the Montanists and, in order to give his tale an acceptable climax, made them take the decision they had really taken in the days of Justinian.

⁵⁵ For example, in Sicily in the 6th century, see S. Gregorii epistolae III, 38 (MPL vol. 77, col. 635); in Thessalonica in the 11th century, see J. Mann, *Messianic Movements in the Period of the First Three Crusades* (in Hebrew), Ha-Tekufah 23 (1925), p. 256 (31–40); pp. 259–60; Starr, *The Jews*, p. 204. It is, of course, a great exaggeration to suggest that, in the 8th century, "les Juifs montraient une grande ardeur de prosélytisme" (Diehl, p. 261).

⁵⁶ P. de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Latin Christianity*, London (1924), pp. 63–64.

⁵⁷ John, xxvi, 13–14.

⁵⁸ cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* vol. 2, Paris (1949), pp. 373–375.

THE VISION OF DANIEL AS A BYZANTINE — JEWISH HISTORICAL SOURCE

Studies in the history of Byzantine Jewry have often been hampered by the problem of sources. There is a comparative abundance of material for the sixth century and, again, from the beginning of the twelfth century. However, precisely for that period of greatest interest to the Byzantinist which lies between — «the imperial centuries» as it has been so happily called — there is a serious lack¹. Most Jewish sources tend to concentrate their attention on the more important communities that then existed under Muslim rule, while references in the general Byzantine field are usually inadequate for any particular problem. Every reference, however problematic, becomes exceptionally valuable. It is in this light that the information on Jews under the early Macedonians should be approached, as it is given in an anonymous *Vision of Daniel* — especially since neither Starr, in his famous collection of Byzantine-Jewish sources², nor Professor Baron in the Byzantine sections of his sociological and bibliographical survey³, pay it the attention it deserves.

The *Vision of Daniel* belongs to the wealth of early medieval Jewish manuscripts discovered by Solomon Schechter in the Genizah (or archives room) of the Cairo Synagogue⁴. This particular manuscript was presented by him to the Jewish Theological Seminary of Ameri-

* This is a revised and expanded version of «The Vision of Daniel as a Byzantine - Jewish Historical Source», Bar-Ilan University Annual 4/5 (Part One: Jewish Studies) (1966 - 1967), pp. 197 - 203 (in Hebrew). My thanks are due to the joint editors *H. Z. Hirschberg & M. Ber.*

1. The obvious example for the sixth century is the elaborate legislation of Justinian, for the twelfth, the journeys of Benjamin of Tudela. For a new concept of the Byzantine period between we are indebted to *Romilly Jenkins*, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries AD 610—1071*, London (1966).

2. *J. Starr*, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Athens (1939), p. 6; pp. 134-135, p. 141.

3. *S. Baron*, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 3, New York (1957), pp. 174-206; the bibliographic material is on pp. 311-328.

4. As distinct from the majority of these mss., this item has to-day no shelf-mark or other classification; for its listing, and for the Genizah generally, see *S. Shaked*, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents*, Paris & The Hague (1964), pp. 12-13, p. 182.

ca where it is now to be found⁵. So far as its literary style goes, it is a fairly typical and well-known example of Jewish apocalyptic writing. The Hebrew text has been edited twice: by Ginzberg in 1928 in his volume in honour of Schechter⁶ and by Ibn-Shmuel in his anthology *Midrasheh-Geulah* («Teachings of Redemption») in 1942, (re-printed in 1954)⁷. Neither editions provide satisfactory comments on the Byzantine-historical aspect, leaving fundamental questions unanswered. The reason is partly the poor state of the manuscript, particularly on the verso, a situation which led Ibn-Shmuel to a great many radical emendations which have had the unfortunate result of suggesting that little benefit can be derived from the text as a whole⁸. However, neither the state of the manuscript, nor the presence (or absence) of emendations detracts from the specific inferences important for the present subject under discussion, though it may, certainly, leave other problems for ever insoluble. In 1929, the Byzantine-historical aspect was discussed at greater length by Krauss. But his comments, though more far-reaching, are not more convincing than those of the two editors⁹. So far as I know, the text has never been translated¹⁰. The version which follows, if nothing to the contrary is indicated, is meant to be a literal rendering of it as printed by Ginzberg. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the division into lines of the original, but have put in punctuation, and have divided the text into sections for convenient reference¹¹.

(A) This is the Vision of Daniel which was revealed to him in the days of Khosroes, king of Persia. And it is the vision of the fourteen¹².

5. I wish to express my gratitude to *Dr. Nahum Sarna*, the Chief Librarian, for his kindness in supplying me with a photo-copy.

6. *L. Ginzberg*, *Gioze Schechter* (Genizah Studies in Honour of Dr. Solomon Schechter), vol. 1, New York (1928), pp. 313-323 (in Hebrew).

7. *Y. Ibn-Shmuel*, *Midrasheh-Geulah*, Jerusalem & Tel-Aviv (1942); 2nd edn (1954), pp. 232-252 (in Hebrew). Further references will always be to this second edition.

8. *E. g. Baron*, pp. 314-315 (note 6). At the end of this note, however, there is an important constructive suggestion which is discussed below, p. 314 (note 70).

9. *S. Krauss*, «Un nouveau texte pour l'histoire judéo-byzantine», *Revue des Études Juives* 87 (1929), pp. 1-27.

10. *Starr* translated a little under five lines (with certain omissions) into English (pp. 134-135). *Krauss* illustrated his argument by translating not more than ten lines into French (dispersed throughout his essay). The full Hebrew text has forty-seven.

11. The mss begins with what is clearly the concluding blessing of another composition. (*Ginzberg*, p. 317; omitted by *Ibn-Shmuel*).

12. «of the hand» (*Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 249, line 1) is probably the better reading-

- (B) I, Daniel, stood by the river Hebar, and the dread vision was heavy upon me, and I was amazed. And there came to me Gabriel, captain of the heavenly host, and said unto me, «Know, beloved man, and hearken: I have come to tell you that the Mighty Holy One commanded me, 'Go, Gabriel, and reveal to Daniel what is to be at the end of days'».
- (C) In those days there will arise a king, and the sign of his name will be the count A R B , and he will be given dominion. Good deeds will cease in his reign. He will be the blasphemer before God, and will deal scornfully with God's congregation. He will make mock priests and will anger the Most High by his deeds.
- (D) And God will destroy him, setting another king in his place who will slay him for the evil of his doings. And this tribe will be exalted from its former state¹³. The sign of his name will be two B's. He will begin to build the synagogue which the tribe before him had scorned. He will enrich his kingdom with great riches, he will conquer nations and bring peoples under his sway. Then he will become surfeited with his goodness and will turn his face against the holy ones of the Most High. He will baptise them by force, against their will, and with much woe, and then he will sell them for slaves and for serving-maids. And he will die in his bed in great agony.
- (E) And he will pass his sceptre into his son's hand for an inheritance, whose name will be the sign of royalty for beasts — «Leo». He will make a release and give freedom to the holy nation of the Most High, and the Lord of Lords will increase his kingdom.
- (F) And there will reign together with him, but uncrowned, peacefully for the space of twenty-two seasons a dark one beloved by him; and after his death a man from Arabia will contend with him and overcome him and give him bad

an inconsiderable emendation in the Hebrew: YAD in stead of i'' d (fourteen), the i has the force of y. There would then be an allusion to Daniel, X. 10: «And, behold, an hand touched me». I have generally omitted discussing the opinions of the two editors on points of reading or of interpretation, except when relevant to the Byzantine - historical aspect or when a specific phrase needed elucidation.

13. i. e. the tribe (or dynasty) of the new king. *Ibn - Shmuel* (p. 249, line 9) felt it necessary to insert after Melekh 'a'her (another king) «mishevet 'a'her» (from another tribe) into the text; but the sense seems clear enough without this.

advice but not succeed — and in his days the lowly people will dwell in tranquillity.

(G) And after there will arise a king who will persecute them by driving out and not by destruction but mercifully. He will set his face against God but he will not succeed. He and four other crowned kings will reign altogether for forty years, all from the same family. He will hurry to make changes in his kingdom, but he too will die.

(H) But from the same house there will reign many foes will gather about him to ensnare him but their counsel will be frustrated for he will be worthy of protection¹⁴.

(I) At the beginning of his reign his kingdom will prosper and be exalted to the skies, but in the last days it will be destroyed and Great Tyre will conquer it. «And now, Daniel, make an end until the time when all these sayings of yours are made plain and clear, and it is discovered what is to come. For who after you, of those that fear the Lord, will relate his achievements and his deeds? ¹⁵. For that which has been revealed to you is true and trustworthy until the Last Day» And the Angel lifted his hand to heaven and swore by Him who liveth forever that that same dynasty would not fall but would enjoy its possessions peacefully. And the land would be filled with good things.

(J) And in the North there will arise the evil one, the son of wickedness, and he will rule over the land of Aftalopon three seasons and half a season¹⁶. And he will commit sins the like of which have not been committed from the creation of the world to its end: for he will join in marriage sons with their mothers, brothers with their sisters and daughters with their fathers. And the uncleanness will be much worse than any spoken of in the Holy Law. And the Lord God will look upon the face of all the land and burn with fire from heaven the cities of Rome the guilty. And there will be no salvation on the sea or on the dry land from the wrath of the Lord of Hosts at their corruption. And the Lord

14. i. e. divine protection, see below, p. 316.

15. i. e. in order to show that he, too, has prophetic powers, cf. *Isaiah* XLI. 21.

16. Aftalopon = Ἑπτάλοφος - «seven-hilled» i. e. Rome; cf. *Ginzberg*, p. 321, (note to line 7), and see below, p. 317 «Three seasons and half a season» is the traditional period for the wicked precursor of the Messiah to rule, cf. e. g. The Prayer of Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai, *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 277 (line 149).

God will strike dead the house of the evildoer. But happy are they, yea, happy who on that day are dwelling in Rome and in Salonica, in Sicily and in Beroia, in Shtriglion and in Ashiniad, in Aram and in Istambolin¹⁷ while many peoples will war in Aftalopon. And the Lord God will rage against those who dwell in all the islands and cause them to go into exile and settle in the land of the great. And there will be a dearth of crops and cattle, the heavens will storm in thunder, the earth will quake mightily and a great fire from heaven will burn up the dwellers of the earth. The hosts of the unburied dead, the carcasses of birds, beasts, and of all creeping things will lie upon the face of the land. And the Lord God will rage, and rain down his fire and pour down his waters, and will cause the seas to quake and heave and their waves to boil. And there will be nothingness, emptiness and chaos. And He will throw them down and drown them in the depths, and the creatures of the deep will swallow them up. And one who will come from (other) strongholds will not know the land and all that is in it, for mariners will come to mourn the land, «and is this from whence the wealth . . . ? »¹⁸. They come and go in their ships, saying one to another, «Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth ? »¹⁹. And they mourn her many days.

(K)

And in those days the kingdom will be given to Rome Eshpion²⁰, gates and towers they will judge Then the Messiah will reign.

It was the first editor of the *V i s i o n* who saw that, amongst all the obscurities and apocalyptic prophecies of the foregoing, there were definite references to real events. And no one has seriously disputed Ginzberg's view that, at the least, there are references to four Byzantine

17. On the identification of the last five places, see *Krauss*, pp. 25-26 (reprinted by *Ibn-Shmuel*, pp. 246-247).

18. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 252 (line 47) would supply «and is this the city from whence the wealth of peoples came?». But the sense is clear enough without this.

19. *Lamentations*, II. 15.

20. Eshpion = σοφιανῶν - cf. *Krauss*, p. 27 (note 3), or σοφιῶν a normal alternative form giving a closer transliteration: a palace built by Justinian II for his wife Sophia; see *A. N. Στράτου*, *Τὸ Βυζάντιον στὸν Ζ' αἰῶνα*, τόμος Β' Ἀθήναι (1966), σελ. 951.

emperors²¹. The king in section D must be Basil I: The «two B's» may stand for his name and title — Basileus/Basileus. He was the first of a new «tribe» which he «exalted» by murdering the last king of the previous tribe. Thus Michael III is the king of section C. Leo VI, Basil's son (section D) obviously follows; in fact, he is so described in the text. Basil's attempt to force Christianity upon the Jews fits into the picture — it is sufficiently attested in other sources²². The next persecution took place under Romanus I, thus it has to be that emperor who is intended in section G. However, the interpretation of these references, just as the evaluation of other historical information that the Vision may have, has remained an open question.

All interpretations of section C have concentrated on the meaning of the group A R B. The details of the discussion need not concern us here. What emerges is that, while both Ginzberg and Ibn-Shmuel held that, whatever else these three letters may mean, they include a clear allusion to the word 'o r e v — that is, «enemy» (of the Jewish people)²³, Krauss and Baron did not think that they had any specific Jewish significance. Krauss thought that the answer was to be found in a Christian rather than in a Jewish context — an argument to which we shall return²⁴. Baron went further and suggested that the letters did not refer to Michael at all but to his chief minister Bardas, on the analogy of a somewhat similar — and equally cryptic — Arabic reference²⁵. Starr went further still and declared the letters to be indecypherable²⁶. However, even if any of these last three interpretations be accepted in preference to the first two, and the definite description of Michael as «enemy» be rejected, enough still remains in this section which, on an ordinary reading, implies that Michael took some action or other against the Jews. Here is the difficulty: there is nothing whatever in any source, Jewish or non-Jewish, to support this. How has this difficulty been met by our five commentators?

Ginzberg, with an engaging simplicity, remarked that Michael, being so notoriously wicked even if but a tenth of what was related of him were true, would certainly have been a persecutor of the Jews²⁷. Ibn-Shmuel ignored the lack of corroboration in the sources. He kept to the text itself and merely stressed that the phrase «he will deal scornfully»

21. *Ginzberg*, pp. 313-316.

22. See below, pp. 308 - 309.

23. *Ginzberg*, pp. 313-314; *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 245. A R B ('Aleph Resh Beth) is treated as a verbal root from which 'o r e v is one of the normal derivations.

24. *Krauss*, p. 3; see below, p. 308.

25. *Baron*, p. 315.

26. *Starr*, p. 135.

27. *Ginzberg*, p. 314.

meant that the persecution was mainly one of bringing the Jews into contempt, and did not include legal measures²⁸. Starr, in effect, ignored the difficulty. In commenting on an extract he printed from Section D, he mentioned, in passing, that the preceding lines said nothing about the Jewish situation in Byzantium²⁹. Krauss proposed the most radical solution: the *Vision* was the work of a Jewish convert to Christianity. All its historical references were to events which had nothing to do with the Jews: Michael's crimes, for example, were purely against Christians³⁰. But then, aside from the problem of fitting in the apocalyptic passages, particularly Section K (the coming of the Messiah), the question must be asked why the *Vision* was written in Hebrew at all. If the intention was that it should be read by the so far unconverted, it is quite inconceivable that no hint of conversionist propaganda should appear in it. Finally, Baron, the only one to concern himself with the general Byzantine background to this difficulty, suggested that the author of the *Vision* was influenced by certain Christian apocalyptic literature with hostile passages on Michael III and his reign³¹. It is, indeed, very probable that the gratuitous addition of a persecution of the Jews to Michael's other traditional infamies was a reflection in a Jewish context of the reputation Michael had acquired in a number of sources. This is part of the answer, and we shall return to it after we have considered the sections on the other emperors³².

The second difficulty in this section is presented by the «mock priests». It is hard to understand this other than as a reference to the parade of nobles dressed up as priests, including a mock patriarch, which, according to the *Vita Basilii*, Michael personally arranged as a climax to his disgraceful behaviour³³. Why should our writer have been worried by an offence against the dignity of the Christian hierarchy? Once again, Krauss has the perfect answer, if it be admitted that the *Vision* is the work of a Christian convert. And, once again, as an alternative to that unconvincing hypothesis, an outside, non-Jewish influence may be suggested on someone who was himself certainly Jewish.

Further evidence can be found in support of this suggestion from the references to Basil I (Section D). First, there is an unambiguous reference to the forced baptisms decreed by him about which, despite Baron's

28. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 245.

29. *Starr*, p. 135.

30. *Krauss*, p. 3.

31. *Baron*, p. 179.

32. See below, p. 314 (note 70), p. 313, 315.

33. *Vita Basilii* (*Theophanes continuatus*, liber V), *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr, Bonn (1838), pp. 244-245.

reservations, there can be no possible doubt. In 873 or 874, apparently after some attempt to persuade by argument or by bribery, the authorities embarked on sterner measures which probably succeeded in forcing some Jews to an outward show of Christian belief³⁴. Our source adds one odd detail: the subsequent selling into slavery. It is probably best to understand this symbolically, perhaps in the sense suggested by Ibn-Shmuel: the term «sell» means that Basill g a v e u p the Jews to slavery — that is, to Christianity³⁵. The text does not in any way imply that slavery was the penalty for resisting conversion (Baron's interpretation following Ginzberg)³⁶, or the penalty for apostasy subsequently (Krauss' interpretation)³⁷. Therefore, the fact that the Byzantine legal codes did not provide for either penalty need not cast any doubt, in the way that Baron would suggest,³⁸ on the historical value of our source.

However, in the same section, we are given other, far more puzzling information: Previous to embarking on his anti-Jewish measures, Basil will set right the wrong done by Michael and «begin to build the synagogue». Krauss, faithful to his theory that the *Vision* is mainly concerned with events which have nothing to do with the Jews, translated the word used here for «synagogue», *m i q h a l*, as «dynasty». It was his dynasty, previously scorned, that Basil began to build. To this, aside from the general difficulty of the theory, there are two objections. Firstly, it would seem to be an unnecessary repetition of the idea already expressed in the sentence, «And this tribe will be exalted from its former state». Secondly, and more seriously, «dynasty» cannot possibly translate *m i q h a l*³⁹. Ginzberg gave two different explanations: In his introduction he thought the phrase meant exactly what it said — the re — building of the

34. *Baron*, pp. 179-180 can hardly claim that the *Vision* is the main source for this event: for the invitations to debate and offers of government posts, see *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 341 and compare with *Ahima'az of Oria*, Sefer Yuhasin, ed. A. Neubauer, Medieval Jewish Chronicles, Semitic Series II, Oxford (1895), pp. 115-116 (reprinted by *Ibn-Shmuel*, pp. 238-239); ed. & trans. M. Salzman, The Chronicle of Ahimaaz, New York (1924), pp. 69-70 (The English is unsatisfactory). *Baron* (p. 180) may choose to call *Ahima'az* «a long-winded tale», but there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of its basic information. For the final decree see the references in *F. Dölger*, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, Munich - Berlin (1924), no. 478 and cf. *Starr's* many other references, p. 127, 131, 135-136.

35. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 250; cf. p. 237 (note 34).

36. *Baron*, p. 179, *Ginzberg*, p. 315.

37. *Krauss*, p. 8.

38. *Baron*, *ibid.* On the penalty for apostasy, see below p. 311 (note 50).

39. This word is an unusual form from the ordinary root-form *q a h a l* (= congregation, community, in modern Hebrew often «audience»); and cf. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 245.

synagogues destroyed by Michael⁴⁰. In his footnote to the text, he suggested that *m i q h a l* might mean a church or churches, but did not discuss the implication of such a suggestion — why should our writer have been interested in church building?⁴¹ Ibn-Shmuel, in effect, followed Ginzberg. In one place he suggested that this was no more than a reference to Basil's general building activities, in another, that the meaning «apparently» was «to re-build the synagogue which the last king of the previous dynasty had despised and destroyed»⁴². Baron did not deal with this point. Starr translated *m i q h a l* by «community», believed that «the context opposes any reference to the Jews», but thought Krauss' explanation «rather imaginative»⁴³. And yet, unless some very radical interpretation is accepted, the plain sense of the phrase must be that Basil, before turning to his campaign of conversions, rebuilt the synagogue — either literally or metaphorically. Now, this assertion is as uncorroborated as that accusing Michael of persecuting the Jews. And it can be similarly explained: The writer was under some influence concerned with praising the Macedonian dynasty at the expense of the Amorian⁴⁴.

This influence remains an important factor when considering section E — the Jews under Leo VI. We know that many of the forced converts from the previous reign returned to their ancestral faith⁴⁵, and there are no passages in Jewish or non-Jewish sources stating that in fact the persecutions were continued — or resumed. It may be that this section provides no more than a confirmation. It may, however, have greater interest. One Jewish source asserts that Leo explicitly annulled his father's decree⁴⁶. According to Ibn-Shmuel, the *V i s i o n* supports this: Leo released the Jews from the evil decree and granted them the freedom to return to Judaism, that is, the missionary campaign was officially halted and permission was given to abandon Christian forms to those who had succumbed⁴⁷. But it is very hard to believe in an official permission to apostatise. Krauss thought the second word meant a release from taxes, on a perfectly reasonable analogy from Esther, II.18⁴⁸. If this be accepted, it would certainly give our source added value by providing a hitherto

40. Ginzberg, p. 314.

41. Ginzberg, p. 319.

42. Ibn-Shmuel, p. 237 and p. 250.

43. Starr, pp. 134-135.

44. See below, p. 314.

45. *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 342.

46. *Ahima'az*, p. 117 (ed. Neubauer); reprinted by Ibn-Shmuel, p. 241.

47. Ibn-Shmuel, p. 250.

48. «And he (King Ahasuerus) made a release to the provinces»; cf. Krauss,

unconsidered piece of evidence in the long controversy on whether Jews in the Byzantine Empire paid a special tax⁴⁹.

But there is another difficulty, apart from whether the Hebrew can bear any of these meanings. A novel of Leo's exists which seems to contradict all that has just been said. It commands the Jews of the Empire to live according to the principles and practice of Christianity on pain of the penalties reserved for apostates⁵⁰. The reason why this novel, whose actual authenticity has never been questioned, has always been treated with great reserve is that it also abrogates the basis of all Byzantine legislation on the Jews. From the time of Justinian, their communal and religious status had been recognised and protected, however many civil disabilities that recognition had included, and however meaningless that protection had sometimes turned out to be. Even under Basil essentially the same provisions appear in the Codes, and the legal status of those who managed to resist his missionary endeavours remained unchanged⁵¹. The contradiction of the novel in this respect, and in respect of the absence of any reference to persecutions under Leo, has never been satisfactorily resolved⁵². There is no evidence for accepting Ibn-Shmuel's conjecture that all those who did not take advantage of the «release» by a certain date had then to remain in their new faith in terms of the novel⁵³. An opposite sequence of events might be nearer the truth: at first the old policy was continued, perhaps with attempts at greater severity in execution. But the new emperor, wiser than his father, quickly abandoned it when he came to realise its fundamental ineffectiveness⁵⁴. It is not surprising that his decision was gratefully remembered by the Jews. The existence of this novel, however, even though its provisions were never applied, makes it hard to believe that Leo actually went out of his way to show

49. The basic discussion is still in *Dölger*, «Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz», *Vierteljahrschrift für Soz.— u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 26 (1933), pp. 1-24 and *A. Andréadès*, «Les Juifs et le Fisc dans l'empire byzantin», *Mélanges Diehl* vol. 1, Paris (1930), pp. 7-29; cf. *Starr*, pp. 12-17. See also, *A. Sharf*, «Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 48 (1955), pp. 112-115.

50. Novella LV: *J. & P. Zepos*, *Jus graecoromanum*, Darmstadt (1962), I. 125. The penalty for apostasy was confiscation of property; cf. references to the sources in *Starr*, p. 145, 147, 148.

51. The relevant passages in the *Basilica* and their equivalents in the *Codex Iustinianus* are conveniently compared by *Starr*, pp. 144-147.

52. Cf. *Starr*, p. 147; *Baron*, p. 181, 316. The novel is unambiguous enough: it reproaches Basil for not abrogating the old laws on the Jews and then proceeds in so many words to do so.

53. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 241 (note 50).

54. Cf. *H. Monnier*, *Les Nouvelles de Léon le Sage* (Bibliothèque du Université du Midi, fasc. 17) Bordeaux (1923), pp. 56-58.

benevolence to the Jews either by the remission of a tax or by the formal annulment of his father's decree. The language used here has another significance: the appearance of both the words «release» and «freedom» is meant to emphasise the author's admiration for the second of the Macedonians, during whose reign «the lowly people (i. e. the Jews) would dwell in tranquillity».

The first sentence of the section on Romanus (G) is the most interesting one in the whole document. It is true that no one has been able to make much sense of the rest of that section or of the whole of the preceding one. Ibn-Shmuel, by virtually re-writing F and G, produced a fair correspondence to various events between the death of Leo VI and the assumption of sole power by Constantine VII, though he did not manage, any more than others did, to identify convincingly the «dark man» or the «man from Arabia»⁵⁵. It must be accepted that either the text is hopelessly corrupt here, or that the writer had only a confused knowledge of what went on at the imperial court. However, this confusion does not in the least detract from the historical interest of the remarks about Romanus. There is no question about his persecution of the Jews, though its causes and exact date are disputable⁵⁶. Our source supports the clearest notice of it by asserting that it entailed expulsion. For this notice tells us that one result was an emigration of Jews to the land of the Khazars⁵⁷. This corroboration is important in any study of the Khazar problem, and it is the only one which interests Ibn-Shmuel⁵⁸. But this is not the important aspect here.

The interest of this passage is its assertion that the persecution was carried out «not by destruction but mercifully»⁵⁹. This assertion has, not unnaturally, puzzled the commentators, with the exception, of course, of Krauss who believed that the intention was somehow to praise Romanus for his dealings with the Byzantines generally⁶⁰. Starr could only make sense of it by suggesting that previous emperors had denied the Jews the

55. On these mysterious figures, see *Ginzberg*, p. 316; *Krauss*, pp. 10-11; *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 241 (note 51) and his opposition to *Krauss*, pp. 245-246. They are not discussed by *Starr* or by *Baron*.

56. Cf. *Dölger*, *Regesten*, no. 624; *Starr*, p. 7 and the sources he quotes on pp. 151-154.

57. *al-Mas 'ūdi*, *Murūj al-Dhāhāb*, ed. and trans. C. B. de Meynard & P. de Courteille, *Les Prairies d'Or*, Paris (1861), II. 8-9; cf. *D. M. Dunlop*, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton (1954), p. 89, giving the date A. H. 332 (A. D. 943).

58. *Ibn-Shmuel*, pp. 242-243.

59. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 251 (line 22) would delete «but mercifully», though the ms. is perfectly clear, obviously feeling it out of place, but without discussion.

60. *Krauss*, pp. 14-16.

right of emigration — for which there is no evidence⁶¹. Baron hazarded the guess that the writer was contrasting the methods of Romanus with tales of physical torture he had heard about during the persecutions of Basil⁶². Both explanations raise two difficulties. Firstly, if the contrast is to be with a previous reign, the way in which the story has been told up to this stage must make it a contrast with the immediately previous one. Basil was contrasted with Michael and Leo with Basil. Obviously, the remarks about Romanus cannot be so contrasted with what the *Vision* has to say about Leo. Secondly, and more seriously, there is evidence in Jewish sources that the methods used by Romanus were, in fact, destructive. An account of events in Otranto describes in detail how communal leaders were imprisoned, murdered or committed suicide⁶³. A letter to Ḥisdai ibn-Shaprūt, minister at the Spanish court of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III, open to dispute as its main subject-matter, the Khazars, may be, is unambiguous enough about Romanus «the wicked one» and his forced conversions⁶⁴.

Must we then deny any historical value to this passage? On the contrary, we are given here one highly important piece of information: our writer's concern, even at the cost of ignoring what he scarcely could help knowing, to say something favourable about Romanus. In order to appreciate the significance of this, we must first return to the sections on the other emperors. Our writer's attitude to them, as to Romanus, is connected with the problem of Michael III in Byzantine historiography. During the last thirty years, it has come to be widely accepted that Michael was not as black as he has been painted⁶⁵. Although this revision, as often happens, may have gone too far⁶⁶, it seems likely that the traditio-

61. *Starr*, p. 152.

62. *Baron*, p. 317 (note 12). For the tales themselves, see *Starr*, p. 131.

63. *J. Mann*, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati (1931), vol. 1, pp. 24-25; cf. pp. 13-15.

64. *S. Schechter*, «An Unknown Khazar Document», *Jewish Quarterly Review* (new series), 3 (1912-1913), p. 208; *J. Brutzkus*, *The Letter of a Khazar Jew of the 10th Century*, Berlin (1924), pp. 8-9, (in Hebrew and Russian). On the correspondence as such, see *Dunlop*, pp. 155-170.

65. This re-evaluation was mainly the work of *H. Grégoire*; see, among much else, «Études sur le neuvième siècle», *Byzantion* 8 (1933), pp. 515-550; cf. *G. Ostrogorsky*, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3rd. edn. trans. *J. M. Hussey*, Oxford (1956), p. 198.

66. Cf. *C. Diehl & G. Marçais*, *Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1081*, Paris (1944), pp. 318-320. *J. B. Bury's* judgement, *Eastern Roman Empire*, London (1912), p. 162, may yet stand: «Little confidence can be placed in the anecdotes related by the Emperor Constantine and his literary satellites, but there is no doubt that they exhibit, in however exaggerated a shape, the character and reputation of Michael III».

nal picture is the result of Macedonian propaganda aimed at justifying the way in which Basil I had reached the imperial throne⁶⁷. Even the episode of the mock priests, Michael's best remembered sin and, notably, the one mentioned by our source, may have been no sin of his. It has been remarked that the account in the *Vita Basilii* has a highly contrived air, bearing a suspicious resemblance to classical models⁶⁸. The Council of the Church held at the beginning of Basil's reign and, thus, with no reason to spare Michael, does not make him personally responsible⁶⁹. On the other hand, certain passages in Christian apocalyptic literature, while hinting at incorrect treatment of the priesthood, declare this to have been of no importance in the light of Michael's services to the Empire by defeating the enemies of Christendom and freeing territories conquered by the them⁷⁰. It is again a contrast both to our source and to Macedonian propaganda: Basil, not Michael, «will conquer nations and bring peoples under his sway»; just so the Macedonians tried to gloss over Michael's military successes by insisting that the great period of counter-attacks against the Muslims began with Basil⁷¹. Finally, our source, just as the Macedonians, justifies the murder of Michael: Basil will kill him «for the evil of his doings»⁷².

This close correspondence of our source to the official Macedonian view of Michael argues a positively sympathetic attitude to that dynasty. And it is only this attitude which can explain the puzzling assertion that it was Michael who persecuted the Jews while Basil, at least at first, was friendly to them. It can explain the somewhat exaggerated praise of Leo VI. It can also partly explain the attempt to say a good word about Ro-

67. Cf. *Ostrogorsky*, p. 187: the *Vita Basilii* was either dictated by Constantine himself or was the result of his instructions.

68. *Romilly Jenkins*, «Constantine VII's Portrait of Michael III», *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques d'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 34 (1948), pp. 71-77.

69. *J. D. Mansi*, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 16, cols. 1169-1170; «aiunt enim fuisse quosdam laicos sub eo qui nuper imperavit qui insultabant et illudebant». Michael is not mentioned by name. His worst offence according to this would be in not preventing the scandal.

70. See *A. A. Vasiliev*, «The Emperor Michael III in Apocryphal Literature», *Byzantina - Metabyzantina I* (1946), pp. 237-248. *Baron* (p. 179), who made the fruitful suggestion that this source ought to be consulted, oddly remarked that it was permeated by the same spirit of emnity towards Michael as was the *Vision*.

71. Cf. *H. Grégoire*, «Études sur l'épopée byzantine», *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 46 (1933), pp. 37-38; *A. A. Vasiliev*, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels (1935), vol. 1, pp. 247-264.

72. *Ibn - Shmuel* (p. 249) — unnecessarily, the ms. is perfectly clear here — emends the beginning of our section D to read, «And God will destroy him for the evil of his doings».

manus. But it cannot wholly do so. For Romanus was a Macedonian only by marriage. He was no favourite of theirs: for years he kept their legitimate representatives out of power; Constantine detested him and personally engineered his overthrow⁷³. Obviously, we must look elsewhere than to Constantine's historiographical instructions which otherwise our writer seems to have done his utmost to follow. The clue is in the general situation of Byzantine Jewry at the end of the tenth and at the beginning of the eleventh century. The persecutions of Romanus ended with his fall and were not renewed⁷⁴. A well-known source for that subsequent period tells us that,

«The Romans (i. e. the Byzantines) tolerate great numbers of Jewish inhabitants, although they crucified Christ, and protect them, allowing them to hold their religious services openly and to build synagogues in which they mock at Christ in their country the Jew can acknowledge 'I am a Jew'. He is not called to account for it. They do not hinder him or put any difficulties in his way⁷⁵».

We know that many Egyptian Jews, fleeing from the persecutions launched against them by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim between 1009 and 1016, chose Byzantium for their refuge⁷⁶. And it is worth noting that the emperor Basil II invited a learned Jew from Cyprus to advise him in a dispute about the liturgical calendar⁷⁷. Now, it is possible to draw too rosy a picture from this evidence. The writer of the passage just quoted

73. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, De Administrando Imperio, ed. & trans. G. Moravcsyk & R. H. Jenkins, Budapest (1949), p. 73; cf. *Ostrogorsky*, p. 248.

74. It is possible that Constantine was persuaded to abandon the persecutions by his wife Helena (daughter of Romanus). The text from which this specific inference can be drawn has been much disputed, though not the fact that the persecutions ceased; cf. *Baron's* full bibliography, pp. 305-306 (note 40). *Starr*, p. 8, p. 154, and in his «An Eastern Christian Sect: the Athinganoi», *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936), p. 97 (note 19), suggested that Constantine was actually complimented on his missionary successes with the Jews - but this was admittedly at the very beginning of his independent reign. Moreover, the reference used by *Starr* is to the conversion of all kinds of Christian heretics, not only of Jews. It is part of a general anti-heretical tract by Demetrius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus, and need not have been more than a formal dedication to the new ruler.

75. *Elīsha bar Shināyā*, al-Būrḥān alā saḥīḥ al-'imān, trans. L. Horst, *Des Metropolitan Elias von Nisibis Buch vom Beweis der Wahrheit des Glaubens*, Colmar (1886), p. 42; cf. *Starr*, p. 190 for an incomplete English version of this passage and p. 246 for the parallel Arabic original. The text cannot be exactly dated, Elīsha died in 1046 at the latest; cf. *E. K. Dally*, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Paris (1960), vol. 4, cols 572-4.

76. On the sources see *Z Ankori*, *Karaites in Byzantium*, Jerusalem (1959), p. 167 (note 307).

77. *Dölger*, *Regesten*, no. 798.

was hostile to Byzantium and thus was likely to exaggerate such matters as tolerance to the Jews. Synagogues, for example, could not be freely built, any more than they could be in the time of Basil I. But it is difficult not to accept that conditions had improved⁷⁸. Our own source (section H) says that the king following Romanus — i. e. Constantine VII — will be worthy of divine protection. His dynasty would be secure and «the land would be filled with good things» (end of section I)⁷⁹. The writer was clearly impressed by these improved conditions. And so, not only was he eager to show his loyalty to the Macedonians but also unwilling to condemn unreservedly «the wicked one» — wicked enough, too, in Macedonian eyes. The importance of the remarks about Romanus is that they indicate, even more than do the other historical sections, the degree to which the *Vision* reflects a generally positive attitude towards Byzantium, thus constituting additional contemporary evidence for the comparatively favourable situation of the Jews at that period⁸⁰.

This positive attitude is strikingly emphasised in the apocalyptic sections. A and B are normal examples of this kind of writing. The river *Hebar* and the «captain of the heavenly host» (B) are frequently associated with prophecy⁸¹, while the introductory sentences (A) often refer to a biblical prophecy associated with the writing in question — in this instance, of course, to the Book of Daniel⁸². But a highly unusual element appears in the other sections. Despite the obscurities of the language, the pro-

78. While existing synagogues were protected by law (and could be repaired), the building of new ones was expressly forbidden; see *Basilica I*, 1,44; 1,53; 1,47 = *Basilicorum libri LX*, ed. H. Scheltema & N. Van der Wal, Series A, Vol. 1, Groningen - Gravehage (1955), pp. 7-8. Of course, this prohibition might not have been so strictly respected in a period of immigration, cf. *Baron*, p. 188; *Starr*, p. 24. Elisha was writing a Nestorian polemic against the Chalcedonites and other faiths, but he would have chosen examples reasonably near the truth to support his points. In another place (*Horst*, p. 117) he also speaks of Byzantine Jews suffering «humiliation» - probably in respect of a specific legal disability. Both *Baron* (p. 184) and *Ankori* (p. 164) accept Elisha on the generally good conditions for the Jews.

79. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 251 (lines 24-25), by transferring the end of our section I to H, where it probably belongs, makes the reference to Constantine more definite. But even the unemended text is clear enough.

80. The *Vision* was probably written not long after the death of Constantine since he is the last «king» mentioned, cf. *Ibn-Shmuel*, pp. 243-244; *Baron*, p. 317 (note 12).

81. Cf. e. g. the rather better known Apocalypse of Zerubabel, ed. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 71 (line 3), p. 73 (line 33) (in Hebrew); ed. & trans. *I. Levi* «L'Apocalypse de Zorobabel», *Revue des Études Juives* 68 (1914), p. 144, p. 147.

82. *Daniel* X. 1: «In the third year of Cyrus, King of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel».

blematic character of some of the references and the occasionally poor state of the manuscript, this element emerges quite unmistakably — a clear distinction between Byzantium and Rome: Byzantium is the kingdom which will be «exalted to the skies» (beginning of section I), «Rome» (section J), «Rome» — associated with «Eshpion» (section K). Rome is «Great Tyre» (beginning of section I), «Aftalopon», «Rome the guilty» (section J)⁸³. And this distinction is made in order to show the superiority of Byzantium over Rome. The kingdom first exalted will be overcome by Great Tyre whose triumph will only be temporary, for it will fall under the rule of the evil one and will suffer all the horrors of divine punishment so that men will wonder where her former glory has gone. The people of Byzantium, of Thessalonica, its greatest city after Constantinople, will rejoice — while war will rage in Aftalopon⁸⁴. And then Byzantium will again be exalted, but this time finally. For it is there that the Messianic age will begin.

There is a curious and striking difference here from the attitude taken by similar texts belonging to earlier Byzantine epochs. In those, no such distinction is made. Byzantium, like Rome, is evil. It is symbolised by Edom and its destruction is foretold with satisfaction⁸⁵. This is particularly noticeable for the second half of the seventh century which, like the second half of the tenth, was a period of crisis in the struggle between Byzantium and Islām. In the former period, the belief arose that that struggle would end in mutual destruction which would usher in the Messianic age⁸⁶. There may have been engendered a nationalist Messianic movement outspokenly hostile to both regimes⁸⁷. But the *Vision* declares that the Messiah will reign in Byzantium. It says nothing of Islām, indeed it may be that its attitude in these sections is influenced by a pride in the victories over Islām achieved by Nicephorus Phocas and by John Tzimiscēs. It is thus that the «kingdom will be exalted to the skies». There are indications that these victories made a big impression on certain Jewish scholars living

83. On the identification of Aftalopon and Eshpion, see notes 16 & 20, above.

84. It may be that the last five places in the series (see above, p. 306) are a later interpolation (cf. *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 246 rejecting *Krauss*, pp. 18-19, who thought their appearance proved the *Vision* to have been written in the time of the Fourth Crusade); Rome and Salonica, however seem to fit naturally into the text.

85. Cf. e. g. *L. Marmorstein*, «Les signes du Messie», *Revue des Études Juives*, 52 (1906), pp. 181-186.

86. Cf. e. g. *Perek Eliyahu zakhur la-ṭov*, *Ibn-Shmuel*, pp. 51-54; *J. Mann*, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 47 (1927), p. 364, (communication to 1927 Congress).

87. See *A. Sharf*, «The Jews, the Montanists, and the Emperor Leo III», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 59 (1966), p. 41; 43-44.

under Muslim rule, inspiring in them, too, a measure of pro-Byzantine feeling instead of the traditional hostility to both regimes⁸⁸. It may be that these sections of the *Vision* are an echo of the clash between the new Rome and the old over territories in southern Italy, typified by the unfriendly reception given in 968 to the western emperor's ambassador, Liudprand of Cremona⁸⁹. But whether they can be convincingly related to any specific historical events or no, their strong contrast to the Jewish apocalyptic tradition in this context argues an important development in the position of the Jews within Byzantine society. Loyalty to the Macedonian dynasty becomes the particular expression of a general, of a more fundamental influence: the development of patriotic feelings, the tendency to identify with Byzantium itself. It is this development which is the cause of the *Vision's* historically unjustifiable assertions. But it is precisely those assertions which give it its historical interest, since through their analysis a new light is cast on the Jews under the early Macedonians.

88. *Ankora*, pp. 164-167.

89. Certainly not over Byzantium's eastern conquests as *Ibn-Shmuel*, p. 244, suggested—there was no clash of interest there. Liutprand must have annoyed the Byzantines quite as much as they annoyed him; cf. e. g. *Liutprandi legatio*, capita iii, ix, and, especially, xlvi where he is obviously using his diplomatic status to make contact with secret Ottonian agents.

AN UNKNOWN MESSIAH OF 1096 AND THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS

IN the precious hoard of the Cairo Genizah there exists an intriguing document: a letter about an unknown false Messiah which has important implications, as yet not properly explored, regarding certain Jewish communities in the Byzantine Empire at the commencement of the First Crusade. This letter was first transcribed and printed, together with a short comment, by Neubauer in 1897.² The following year, it was discussed at some length by Kaufmann who did not, however, adequately relate it to a general historical background,³ while the great pioneer of Byzantine Jewish studies, Samuel Krauss, was here unfortunately content to follow Kaufmann.⁴ In 1925, Jacob Mann produced a new and more accurate transcription, but his main concern was to use it for his survey of Messianic movements during the crusading period rather than for any additional light it might throw on the normal life of the communities.⁵ In 1939, Joshua Starr, whose untimely death was a severe blow both to Byzantine and to Jewish scholarship, published a translation of Mann's text among his invaluable collection of Byzantine Jewish sources.⁶ This work, intended originally as part of a German sponsored series, eventually appeared at Athens and copies to-day are very scarce. To illustrate, therefore, the discussion which follows, here is Starr's version of the story of this unknown Messiah⁷:—

I. Now, although the threshing floor is not yet filled, know you, our brethren, blessed of the Lord, that in this year the promise of our God has been fulfilled: an innumerable multitude

¹ I am greatly indebted to Mr. ARYEH RUBINSTEIN for his assistance in this essay.

² *JQR* IX (1897), pp. 27-29.

³ D. KAUFMANN, "A Hitherto Unknown Messianic Movement among the Jews," *JQR* X (1898), pp. 139-151, and in *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, (1898).

⁴ S. KRAUSS, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Leipzig (1914), pp. 47-62.

⁵ J. MANN, "Ha-tenuoth ha-meshihiyoth bi-yemey masa'ey ha-šlav ha-rishonim," *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII (1925), pp. 243-261. The letter is transcribed on pp. 253-259.

⁶ J. STARR, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire (641-1204, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*, Bd. 30, Athens (1939).

⁷ STARR, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-206. The letter has been divided into numbered paragraphs for convenient reference, and biblical quotations at the beginning of (I), at the end of (II) and following "the words of Daniel" in (IV) have been omitted.

of Franks has come, with their wives and all their money, and the Lord has gathered them into the threshing floor. When the Gentiles and the Jews asked of them, "Why have you abandoned your homes and your land?" their leaders reply, "The mountains of darkness have drawn near to us and now they are revealed to us in a great light." We saw a nation with innumerable tents and we did not recognise their language. One man stepped forth from their midst and said to us, "Go on your way." Thus we have come to you. Thus we have been pursued and have arrived.¹

II. We said, "Surely God has fulfilled His promise: 'To them that are in darkness, show yourselves.'" These are the other . . .² . . . tribes. And when all the Franks shall have gone to Palestine and the threshing floor shall have been filled, then will God say, "Arise and thresh, o daughter of Zion"

III. All the congregations have been stirred and have repented before God with fasting and almsgiving . . .² . . . those from Khazaria, as they said, seventeen communities, went out to the wilderness of the Gentiles, but we do not know whether they met with the tribes or not . . .² . . . from the land of France whence they had despatched a messenger bearing letters to Constantinople.³ But we do not know as yet exactly what they contained, hence, we cannot communicate it to you.

IV. Now at Constantinople, . . .² . . . at Abydos near Constantinople, some small congregations have arisen in accordance with the words of Daniel They said, "Elijah has revealed himself unto us." But, instead of receiving them, both we and the community of Constantinople, utterly excommunicated them.

V. Permit us to relate what transpired in Saloniki, in the holy community. There came foreigners, Jewish and Christian, and officials who reported that Elijah . . .⁴ . . . had revealed himself openly and not in a dream to certain men of standing. They

¹ "The innumerable multitude" is called *ashkenazim*, almost certainly *Germans*, i.e. Crusaders (hence STARR calls them "Franks" as they were known in the East) and not German Jews, cf. MANN, *Ha-teqifah* XXIII, p. 260; S. POZNANSKI, *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* XV (1911), p. 76. If they were Jews, as KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 142-143, believed, why should the writer of the letter not have recognised their language?

² Lacaunae in the Ms.

³ In this paragraph, "the land of France" (פְּרַנְסְיָה) and "Constantinople" (קֹנְסְטַנְטִינוֹפֹלִי) are in an Arabic form, which may have some relevance to the provenance of the letter; cf. MANN, *Ha-teqifah* XXIII, p. 255, n. 7 & 8.

⁴ Lacuna in the Ms.

witnessed many signs and miracles there which the Jews and Christians relate. He revealed himself to R. Eliezer b. R. Judah b. R. Eliezer the Great, and, as the foreigners say, he gave him a staff. It was the Christians, however, who, in good faith, gave the clearest version of the miracles which took place in Saloniki. The Jews are idly neglecting their work. R. Tobiah also sent a scholar with an open letter to Constantinople to appraise them of the good news. A Jewish fellow-townsmen of ours was there, who is somewhat learned. He saw the letter sent by R. Tobiah and it said, "Signs and miracles have taken place amongst us." Moreover, thus testified the Jew, Michael the German: He saw in R. Tobiah's letter that a totally blind man, Michael b. R. Aaron "the Chaver",¹ who is in Saloniki, has regained his eyesight. R. Nissim also knows that man. By an oversight, this Michael neglected to make a copy of this letter. Had he brought us one, we would have forwarded it to you to convince you.

VI. Moreover, we have definite information that R. Ebyatar ha-Cohen, the head of the academy, sent a letter from Tripolis to the community in Constantinople. Four men were there who saw the letter in the care of Lugiz the Christian. But they likewise did not take the trouble to bring us a copy, being ignoramuses.

VII. At the present time, we are looking forward to receiving letters from R. Tobiah and from the holy congregations. For we are amazed at the great miracle that has occurred in Saloniki, where the Christians have always hated the Jews most intensely, as R. Nissim knows. For had the signs and great miracles not taken place, and had the king not heard of it, not one of the Jews would have escaped. At the present time, they dwell in great security, free of the poll-tax and other² levies, they sit garbed in prayer-shawls and do no work. We do not know what they are expecting and we are in constant dread lest it become known to the Gentiles and they kill us. But, at the present time, the governor himself and the archbishop³ say, "Oh Jews, why remain in Saloniki? Sell your homes and property—the Emperor protects them and no man may harm them. You have not

¹ For the significance of this title, cf. J. MANN, *The Jews in Egypt under the Fatimid Caliphs*, 2 vols., Oxford (1920) I, pp. 272-277.

² "other" is not in the text.

³ This is certainly the meaning of *הארכיבישוף*; cf. MANN, *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 257, n. 4 and not "Patriarch" as in KAUFMANN.

yet set out, despite the fact that we have definitely learned that your Messiah has appeared.”

VIII. Praise be to God that we have no fear, and that we too have repented with fasting and almsgiving. Many fast daily and others on Monday and Thursday. They receive stripes and confess their sins. Before we got this report that in Saloniki both Jews and Christians were seeing visions, we knew nothing of the events in Saloniki. We refused to believe their words and used to rebuke them until a Jewish Cohen saw in a dream, before the matter was announced, that all Byzantine congregations were to gather in Saloniki and would leave from there. We rebuked them and said that they were the enemies of Israel until Tobiah came from Thebes, bringing a letter saying that signs and miracles had transpired in Saloniki, and that other congregations were gathering there. Soon Tobiah will come hither and will relate to you what he has heard and seen: thus the dream which the Jewish Cohen saw will come true.

IX. Now, our brethren, if God has vouchsafed you some happy report or good news—for we are aware of the things which our master, the head of the academy, has heard and knows—then do us the kindness of writing to us what you know and have heard. Have no fear, for even the king has heard of it, and we are not afraid. And if a letter should come from you, our entire community would be encouraged in their repentance. May God reward you well; may you be deemed worthy of experiencing His graciousness and of visiting His temple. I, Menahem, should like to go to Palestine¹ to see the Frankish soldiers passing in great number—I know not whither they will spread. May God defend you and us, Amen!

This is copied from the original in the possession of the illustrious R. Nissim . . . ² . . . This is the letter which R. Menahem b. R. Elijah sent.

The main interest of this letter is obviously the additional information it gives about the Messianic excitement which the movement of vast numbers on the road to Jerusalem had aroused in the Jews. As such it is, perhaps, unusually detailed but by no

¹ פלשתינה = Palestine or Syria, cf. J. MANN, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati (1931) I, p. 264 n.1. It cannot be Cairo as in KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² Lacuna in Ms.

means unique:¹ its most valuable characteristic is its numerous references to individuals, most of them fairly satisfactorily identifiable, which help to establish both its date and its authenticity. Thus Rabbi Tobiah (paragraph V) is probably R. Tobiah ben Eliezer of Castoria (Western Macedonia) the author of a famous commentary on the Torah (written in 1097 C.E.),² R. Nissim (paragraph V) was appointed *dayyan* of the Babylonian community in Egypt in 1098 C.E.,³ while R. Ebyatar ha-Cohen (paragraph VI) was the *gaon* of the Palestinian Academy at Jerusalem (1083-c.1105 C.E.).⁴ It should be mentioned in passing that of the writer, Menaḥem b. Elijah himself, nothing is known,⁵ while any conjecture on the provenance or destination of the letter from the material at present available is, almost certainly, entirely valueless.⁶

If the authenticity of this letter, despite the obscurities of its origin, be accepted (and it has never been denied), a number of important questions arise aside from its Messianic aspect which will not be treated in the present discussion. The assertion in paragraph VII that the community in Salonica was excused certain taxes has for long formed part of the material in the controversy on whether Jews in the Eastern Empire after the time of Justinian, that is, as distinct from Roman Jewry, were subject to a special tax.⁷ Two terms are here used: גולגולת

¹ A letter exists with somewhat similar phraseology describing Messianic movements, perhaps at a slightly later period, in the Morea and in Spain; cf. MANN, *Texts and Studies* I, pp. 34-44 and the controversy between MANN and KRAUSS in the *Hebrew Union College Annual* X, pp. 275-296 and 302-305.

² STARR, *op. cit.*, p. 216; MANN, *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 256 n. 6; cf. *Jewish Encyclopaedia* XII, pp. 169-171. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 141, has no reason for suggesting that Tobiah "was the Chief Rabbi."

³ MANN, *Jews in Egypt* I, p. 206; II, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-192. He was not, as KAUFMANN says, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-1, the *nagid* of Egypt (a mistake copied by the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* I, p. 56) who was Meborak b. Saadya (c. 1079-1110 C.E.).

⁵ He should not be confused with the better-known Menaḥem of Castoria, the fifteenth-century liturgist; cf. L. ZUNZ, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin (1889), p. 386.

⁶ MANN makes no attempt at such conjecture (*Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 253 and p. 259); KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 139 and NEUBAUER, *op. cit.*, 26 are both rather misleading. It need hardly be pointed out that references to enquiries, etc. from various countries and towns *ipso facto* exclude them as possible places of origin.

⁷ The two main contributions are by F. DÖLGER, "Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* XXVI (1933), pp. 1-24 supporting the existence of this tax and by A. A. ANDREADES, "Les Juifs et le fisc dans l'empire byzantine," *Mélanges Diehl*, Paris (1930) I, pp. 7-29 disputing it. In my article, "Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XLVIII (1955), pp. 112-114, I have tried to summarise the other material bearing on this problem.

and ענשים. The first is certainly equivalent to the poll-tax (κεφάλιον) payable by all citizens.¹ Kaufmann, reading ענשים from Neubauer's edition, took the second term to be in its dual form and simply translated it "double tax."² which would be weighty evidence of fiscal discrimination. But, apart from the grammatical difficulty which would then arise,³ Mann has shown this reading to be incorrect. His photographic reproduction of this passage convinces that the word is in its simple plural form.⁴ On the other hand Starr, to judge by his insertion of the word "other" into his translation,⁵ apparently believed that ענשים was a vague reference to the numerous occasional taxes applicable to the whole population. This interpretation is also not entirely satisfactory. The use of two distinct terms, the second of which does inevitably suggest some of its original meaning of punishment, must imply something more.⁶ This passage is evidence therefore, though certainly not conclusive, of the existence of a separate tax on Byzantine Jewry and is thus a part of the letter which future research on this problem will always have to take into account.

While some attention has been paid to the fiscal problem, another aspect of this passage seems to have attracted not the slightest comment. No one has remarked how generally surprising is the state of affairs which is described as existing in Salonica. Exact knowledge of the early medieval Jewish community there is, with the exception of the present passage, almost entirely confined to the information given by Benjamin of Tudela who says that it numbered five hundred, was oppressed, and lived by silk weaving,⁷ although it is possible that the term used—מלאכת המשי—means the manufacture of silk garments rather than that of the cloth itself.⁸ In either case, an

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 3.

² KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 146, n. 2.

³ With NEUBAUER's pointing the word would be in its dual *pausal* form, inappropriate to its position in the text. The context form would require a *paṭaḥ* in place of the *qameṣ*.

⁴ MANN, *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 255.

⁵ STARR, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁶ In the German version of his article (*Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, I, Berlin, 1898), KAUFMANN called it "harter sensus" which is not supported by the text itself but may well suggest its meaning; in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* VII (1908) he has "other taxes" which is followed by KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and by STARR.

⁷ *Sefer Masa'ot*, ed. and trans. M. N. ADLER, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," *JQR* XVI (1904), text p. 718, trans. p. 727.

⁸ ADLER, *ibid.*, prefers the former, STARR, *op. cit.*, p. 29, the latter alternative.

important point emerges. The silk industry of the Byzantine Empire, from the time of its establishment under Justinian (527-565 C.E.), was a government monopoly, and, by the tenth century, its workers had been rigidly organised into guilds. There were three "imperial" guilds (δημόσια) at Constantinople responsible for supplying the requirements of the Emperor and of his immediate entourage under the direct supervision of imperial officials, and five "private" guilds (σώματα), with provincial as well as metropolitan membership, consisting of (i) merchants (ii) importers (iii) clothiers and dyers (iv) spinners (v) makers of garments.¹ Into these five guilds entry was theoretically open to anyone—even to slaves—and it has been noted that the Comneni, the dynasty which began to reign in 1081, showed exceptional liberality in this respect to the Jews,² while it should always be borne in mind that the typical medieval restrictions on Jewish occupations were, broadly speaking, not applicable in the Byzantine Empire, at least before it fell under Western domination in 1204. There exists, therefore, the very strong probability that the majority of the Jews who on that day in the year 1096 C.E. in Salonica were sitting garbed in their prayer shawls and doing no work were members of the fourth or fifth δωματια. Now it is known, that these five δωματια, despite the liberality of entry and despite the fact that, unlike the three imperial guilds of the capital, they were not under direct imperial supervision but were supposedly private associations of free individuals, were, nevertheless very strictly controlled. Byzantium held the world monopoly of silk. It was thus at once its most valuable export and one which, for reasons of prestige, foreigners could only be allowed to acquire in certain inferior qualities and in jealously guarded quantities.³ An important section of the famous *Book of the Prefect*—imperial regulations for trade and employment—dealt with the whole matter.⁴ What, then, is the significance of the statement that workers in such an important industry, and those of an unloved, if not continually persecuted, minority, were suddenly granted a holiday from their labours ?

¹ R. S. LOPEZ, "The Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* XX (1945), pp. 1-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

³ LOPEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 4.

⁴ ed. E. FRESHFIELD, Cambridge (1938).

This question raises the whole problem of the Jewish communities in the Empire at the beginning of the Crusades, as distinct from those in the West, where there is no dearth of melancholy information. There is little doubt that, after the decay of the Roman world, the Jews were able to achieve a greater degree of integration and social security in the Byzantine Empire than in the new kingdoms of the West. The persistence of an urban civilisation ensured that the Jew was less of an outcast than he inevitably became in relation to a closed feudal society. The Jew was able to enter a variety of occupations side by side with the other different races of the empire. He became scarcely ever a moneylender: the taking of interest, although restricted, was not prohibited—the Church itself engaged in banking operations. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that the traditional discriminations had been abandoned or to deny that, under certain of the emperors, cruel persecutions and attempts at forced baptisms were launched. But these were exceptional storms in periods of comparative calm. From the death of Justinian to the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 there were certainly not more than five occasions, each lasting scarcely more than a year, when the government pursued a violent antisemitic policy.¹ In between these outbreaks of persecution, there is sometimes interesting evidence to show how quickly the communities would revive and how, at least in the greater cities, Jew and Christian would act side by side in the leadership of popular movements. Thus, shortly after the persecutions of the Emperor Heraclius in 632, Jews apparently played a prominent part at Constantinople in a riot against an imperial pretender,² while there are numerous indications of the active part played by the Jews in the factions of the hippodrome both at Constantinople and at Antioch,³ organisations which most scholars now accept as having had primarily a political function.⁴ It is against such a background that the probable situation of Byzantine Jewry at the end of the eleventh century ought to be considered.

¹ STARR, *op. cit.*, Introduction; A. ANDREADES, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire," *Economic History* III (1934), pp. 1-23.

² Nicephorus, 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΣ' ed. C. DE BOOR, *Nicephori Opuscula Historica*, Leipzig (1880), pp. 30-31; cf. STARR, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5.

³ SHARR, *op. cit.*, 106-108.

⁴ The fullest monograph, though much has been written since, is still by G. MANOJLOVIC, "Le Peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion* XI (1936), pp. 617-716.

Very little is known about the attitude of the Emperor Alexius (1081-1118) to his Jewish subjects. There are only five references to Jews in the *Alexiad*—the principal primary source for his reign. One is to biblical times, one is a vague comment on the presence of Jews in Jerusalem, three are to individuals of possibly Jewish origin.¹ Yet it is well known that Alexius was an ardent defender of Christian orthodoxy and of the theocratic element in a Byzantine Emperor's rule.² More heresies were denounced in his reign than in any other of comparable length.³ He fought a relentless struggle against the two major dissident sects of his day, the Paulicians and the Bogomils, finally causing the leader of the latter to be burned alive—an extremely rare event in Eastern, as distinct from Western, ecclesiastical history.⁴ He frowned upon the efflorescence of secular learning which had taken place during the previous forty years and transformed the newly re-opened University into a church school under the control of the patriarch. By his special instructions, a vast compendium of possible and impossible deviations from the true faith was assembled and published for the guidance of his subjects,⁵ and he became known, at least to his contemporaries, as "the thirteenth apostle."⁶ The omission of the Jewish community from his attentions, therefore, has to be remarked upon, and, although *argumenta a silentio* are notoriously dangerous, it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that, during the reign of Alexius, the Jews were passing through a period of comparative peace. It is possible, indeed, that he needed their commercial experience, though not, as a Western ruler might have done, their financial assistance, to help him in his enormous task of restoring the Empire after a protracted series of internal and external disasters.

In this context, the letter of Menahem becomes a valuable source. It pictures a number of communities living an unmolested life with freedom of movement for their members and freedom of communication not only with each other but with

¹ G. BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena*, Oxford (1929), p. 306, n. 1.

² Cf. F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I-er Comnène*, Paris (1900), pp. 310-320.

³ Cf. the curious list in the "Synodikon for the first Sunday in Lent" *ibid.*, p. 311.

⁴ For a description, cf. *Alexiad*, XV, 10.

⁵ MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CXXX.

⁶ *Alexiad*, XIV, 8.

communities beyond the imperial frontier—with the Khazars—now under the domination of Kievan Russia,¹ with France, and with Tripolis which, was, of course, under Muslim rule. There are a number of interesting indications of close contact with the Christian population. R. Ebyatar's letter reached a Christian who showed it to interested Jews, and, even allowing for exaggeration and inaccuracy, it seems that the excitement in Salonica was shared equally by Christian and Jew.² The strange reference to scourgings and confessions should also be noted. These were scarcely Jewish customs and their existence must imply some degree of Christian influence.³

Two reasons may be suggested for the circumstance that it was Salonica where the most noteworthy of the events described by Menahem occurred. First, it was perhaps there, more than anywhere else in the Empire, where a continuous tradition of miracles flourished, and miracles of a particular kind. For the past five centuries the people had firmly believed that the intervention of their patron saint, Demetrius, had saved their city on numerous occasions from the attack of barbarian hordes.⁴ Previously these had been pagan Avars, Slavs and Bulgars but it is important to understand that, so far as the imperial population was concerned, the Crusaders were no better.⁵ It is not unlikely, therefore, that, when news of the approach of multitudes from the West reached the city, the people once again looked for miraculous aid and that the excitement of the Jews communicated itself to them. Secondly, at Salonica, as distinct from Constantinople, the Jews did not live in a separate quarter of the city but mingled freely with the other communities,⁶ so much so that the archbishop Eustathius, writing rather later than our period, complains to the patriarch of the freedom which has for long been granted to the Jews.⁷ Salonica was, moreover, a great commercial centre with an old established port capable of

¹ The independant kingdom of the Khazar Jews had certainly come to an end by 1016, cf. D. M. DUNLOP, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton (1954), pp. 251-252.

² Paragraphs V-VIII.

³ Paragraph VIII.

⁴ Accounts are to be found in MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CXXXVI; cf. J. PARCOIRE, *L'Eglise byzantine*, Paris (1923), p. 141.

⁵ Cf. above all the comments in the *Alexiad*, X, 5-7.

⁶ Cf. O. TAFRALI, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris (1913), pp. 37-40, p. 145.

⁷ *Epistola XXXII* (MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca* CXXXVI, col. 1299).

handling three hundred vessels simultaneously.¹ It stood at the junction of the Via Egnatia, the main road from Constantinople to Durazzo, the port for Italy, and of the road from Constantinople to Bgrade by which goods travelled between places as far apart as Alexandria and Novgorod.² This trade had attracted a large mixed population, where the Jews were only one of a number of racial and religious minorities, and where official dislike was, on the whole, more strongly directed against the Armenians and the followers of the Latin rite. In fact, special regulations dating from this period or slightly later, some applicable to the Empire as a whole and some to Salonica in particular, are known to exist in favour of the Jews.³ It was there, then, that the rumours about the Crusade produced a wave of excitement which equally affected both Jew and Christian, and it was this circumstance which must have caused Alexius, with his apparent lack of special hostility towards the Jews, to order the local authorities to deal tactfully with the situation. It is true that no edict of this kind is, in fact, extant, but it is inconceivable that the governor and the archbishop would have dared to act without one and to have disorganised without permission, even for a short time, the local silk industry.

The events described by Menahem, however, are not only evidence of the close relations which existed, particularly in Salonica, between Jew and Christian. They also illustrate that these relations were not very solidly founded and that, despite its great difference from life in the West, the life of a Jew in the Eastern Empire could not escape the fundamental dangers which threatened the Jew everywhere in Christian society. It is in this light that the apparent contradictions between the assertion that "the Christians . . . gave the clearest version of the miracles which took place in Saloniki"⁴ and the fear that "it become known to the Gentiles and they kill us"⁵ be regarded. The Christian attitude, whether official or unofficial, could change overnight, particularly during periods of religious excitement, and however favourable conditions appeared to be, the Jew could

¹ TAFRALI, *op. cit.*, 16-20.

² *Ibid.*, 20-21.

³ MIKLOSICH & MULLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, Vienna (1860), I, p. 175; ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, Leipzig (1856-1884), II, p. 112, III, p. 504.

⁴ Paragraph V.

⁵ Paragraph VII.

not hope to feel entirely secure.¹ A hint of such a change is implied in the strange plea addressed to the Salonica community by the governor and the archbishop, who could scarcely have been interested in a Jewish Messiah.² Their exhortation to the Jews to sell their property and depart may, indeed, have been prompted by the knowledge that the temper of the people was about to change and by the desire to prevent a massacre. It is far more likely, however, that here too they were following instructions from a higher authority without which they could scarcely have suggested the exodus of large numbers of workers from the silk industry. Alexius may well have felt that, after a certain point, the religious turmoil had lasted long enough and that those chiefly concerned in it, could, with advantage, be removed. The scarcity of information about Byzantine Jewry in general and the eleventh century in particular, makes it impossible to conjecture what the final effect of all these extraordinary events was on the community in Salonica, but it is not likely to have been good . . . Sixty years or so later, Benjamin of Tudela speaks of it as oppressed, and it certainly seems to enter on a period of decline.³

The letter of Menahem thus reveals a glimpse of an interesting episode in the life of an important community. It is only a glimpse, and the inferences from it can be no more than tentative. Nevertheless, with all the difficulties it raises, it remains a valuable piece of source material in the history of Byzantine Jews.

¹ On the other hand, it is very unlikely that news of the fate of their brethren in Germany at the hands of the Crusaders would have yet reached Salonica; cf. MANN, *Ha-Teqifah*, XXIII, p. 259.

² Paragraph VII.

³ Cf. I. S. EMMANUEL, *Histoire des Israelites de Salonique*, Thonon (1936), I, pp. 33-34.

BYZANTINE JEWRY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Among the sources available for the study of Byzantine Jewry one of the most useful belongs to the late twelfth century — the well known descriptions by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela of the communities he visited, including the largest of them at Constantinople, at Thessalonica and at Thebes¹. In contrast, the thirteenth century presents something of a blank. After Flemish troops had destroyed the Jewish quarter in Pera, across the Golden Horn, on July 5th, 1203, during the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders, nothing more is known of Jews there until the re-establishment of the community within the city itself probably between 1267 and 1293². Nor are there specific references to other communities during the thirteenth century with the exception of Thebes (also lost to the Byzantines), where al-Ḥarizī noted the presence of both poets and scholars worthy of his commendation when he visited it in 1218³. However, there is another thirteenth century source which, while it mentions no specific commu-

* Revised and expanded version of a communication read at the XVth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Athens (1976), under the title, "Jews under the Lascarids and in Epirus, 1225–1258".

1 Benjamin of Tudela, *Sefer Masa'ot*, ed. & trans. M. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London (1907), text, pp. 11–17; trans. pp. 10–14.

2 See D. Jacoby, "Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine", *Byzantion* 37 (1967), pp. 189–194; for references to the burning of Pera, see *ibid.*, p. 188.

3 Yehudah ben Shlomo al-Ḥarizī, *Sefer Tahkemoni* XVIII, L; ed. P. de Lagarde, *Iudaei Harizii Macamae*, Hannover (1924), p. 92, p. 184; cf. J. Starr, *Romania*, Paris (1949), p. 16.

nity, is peculiarly valuable because it contains the only direct reference extant to the state of the Jews under the Lascarid dynasty which, between 1204 and 1261 at Nicea, continued Byzantine rule over western Asia Minor, and to the state of those under the so-called Despots of Epirus, the rival claimants to the Byzantine succession in parts of western and northern Greece. This is a polemical letter from R. Jacob ben Eli of Carcassone in Provence to his relative and erstwhile pupil Pablo Christiani or Cristiá. Pablo, originally Sha'ul had, as his name implies, become a Christian, and was zealously propagating his new faith among the Jews of Provence and of neighbouring Aragon between 1260 and 1273, provoking Jacob to his defence of Judaism ⁴.

This source is by no means recently discovered. The whole letter was edited by Kobak in 1868 and the parts with a Byzantine-Jewish interest were translated and discussed by Lewin two years later ⁵. In 1914 these parts were used by Krauss in his history of Byzantine Jewry and in 1921 by Bees in his survey of the Jews of Janina while, in 1928, Kobak's whole text was re-printed by Eisenstein ⁶. Two years earlier Mann had subjected it to a fresh analysis the Byzantine parts of which were, in 1947, referred to by Charanis in his article on the Jews under Michael VIII Paleologus (1258-1282), and in 1949 by Starr in his book on Jews in the Near East after the Fourth Crusade ⁷. The present comment is intended to bring out certain aspects which, nevertheless, appear to need further investigation.

- 4 See C. Roth, "The Disputation of Barcelona (1263)", *Harvard Theological Review* 43 (1950), p. 118.
- 5 J. Kobak, "Iggetet (vikuah) R. Ya'aqov mi-Venetsiah", *Jeschurun* 6 (1868), pp. 1-34; on Jacob's supposed Venetian origin see below, p. 205; L. Lewin, "Eine Notiz zur Geschichte der Juden in byzantinischen Reiche", *Monatschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 19 (1870), pp. 117-122.
- 6 S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-juedischen Geschichte*, Leipzig (1914), pp. 53-55; N. Bees, "Uebersicht ueber die Geschichte des Judentums von Janina (Epirus)", *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbuecher* 2 (1921), p. 163; J. D. Eisenstein, *Otsar viku'im*, New York (1928), pp. 184-193.
- 7 J. Mann, "Une source de l'histoire juive au XIIIe siècle: La lettre polémique de Jacob b. Elie à Pablo Christiani", *Revue des Études Juives* 82 (1926), pp. 363-377; P. Charanis, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Paleologi", *Speculum* 22 (1947), pp. 75-77; Starr, p. 20, p. 22 (note 6).

The climax of Jacob's polemic, of his arguments in defence of Judaism, are seven examples of how, in his own and Pablo's time, or not long previously, God has punished those who turned against the Jews either by trying to persuade others to join them in their apostasy, or by actual persecution as rulers. His third example is a ruler readily identifiable as Theodore Angelus, Despot of Epirus (1215-1230) who, during his last five years, extended his sway to Thessalonica :

"And now I will tell you", says Jacob⁸, "what happened to Theodorus the wicked Greek 'whose heart God made fat and whose eyes heavy'⁹, so that he reigned and behaved just as he pleased. He became a devil to our people and profaned our faith. He seized their wealth and despoiled them of their riches. And whenever a Jew came before him he would close his eyes, while He who dwelleth on high seemed to allow this pretended ignorance. Then the Lord our God hardened Theodorus' spirit and gave him courage for vengeance on his enemy: so Theodorus this Greek went forth to war with King Asani¹⁰ and greeted him not but gave him battle. But King Asani slew most of his horsemen and the best of his captains, and the wicked Theodorus fell captive to him, trapped in his net. And King Asani put fetters on his feet, so that he melted in terror and became weak as water.

"Then King Asani summoned two Jews and said to them, 'Honour your God, for Theodorus your enemy has fallen into my hand. "Darken his eyes in their sockets so that they may be consumed away"¹¹, and take vengeance on him who has been captured in war'. And the Jews took and flung him down on the ground. But he pleaded with them and they had mercy on him and did not requite him according to his deeds; they forgot his wickedness and did not darken his sight. Then King Asani was wrath with them and ordered them to be taken up on a high mountain, rising into the very sky, from whence, flying

⁸ Kobak, pp. 24-25; Eisenstein, p. 191; the translation of this and the following passage is our own. So far as we know neither have been previously translated into English.

⁹ I.e. made Theodore heedless of the truth; cf. Isaiah VI.10.

¹⁰ John II Asen of Bulgaria (1218-1241).

¹¹ Cf. Zachariah XIV.12.

wingless, they were thrown. Broken limb from limb when not half way down, 'they sank as lead in the mighty waters'¹². After this, he ordered two of his people to put out Theodorus' eyes, which they did. 'Then the king's wrath was pacified'¹³.

Jacob's fourth example is the ruler he calls Batsh, that is the Nicean emperor John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-1254)¹⁴.

"The king of evil", Jacob says, "caused him to err and aroused him to lay hands on our religion, profaning the teaching of our God. He commanded the Jews in all the lands of his kingdom to worship according to his worship, to accept and maintain his religion. And now I shall tell you what happened to him for his trespass and his transgression. In that year¹⁵ his sleep departed from him, a sickness grew upon him and 'his ill savour came up'¹⁶. He became like a brimming cup, 'like a seething pot'¹⁷. His belly swelled up with the stones in it and with the sores on it, while 'the water that causes the curse'¹⁸ gathered inside it. 'His heart trembled'¹⁹, and a rottenness entered his bones, nor did this water of his dry up. Filth was in his mouth and his tongue was on fire. He hungered for bread and he thirsted for water, but eating and drinking only increased his affliction: He was greatly troubled by boils on the knees and legs. Pains like birth pangs seized him and, fourteen days before his death, he vomited up his filth. Then the brook Kishon could not have washed away his stink, for his colon was stopped up and his belly sealed. When they brought him food he ate it, and if it sickened and disgusted him he still swallowed it painfully and then vomited it up. 'And behold at evening-tide trouble; and before the morning he is

12 An odd quotation since, of course, it refers to the *persecutors* of the Jews (Exodus XV.10).

13 Esther VII.10.

14 Kobak, pp. 25-26; Eisenstein, p. 191.

15 I.e. 1254, the last year of John's life.

16 See Joel II.20-21: "great evil things" as opposed to the Lord's "great things".

17 See Jeremiah I.13.

18 I.e. the bitter waters that cause the belly to swell and burst (Numbers V.17-27).

19 Cf. Isaiah VII.2.

not' ²⁰. Such was his portion for plundering us, such his lot for despoiling us. So they cast him down into Sheol and lowered him into the depth of the pit".

The last Byzantine example, the fifth in the series, is the ruler Jacob calls Lashk, that is John's son and successor Theodore II Lascaris (1254—1258), during whose reign, he says, the decree of forced baptism remained in force ²¹. This ruler's punishment was ceaseless trouble from a nobility made hostile by his own wilfulness for "anger rested in his bosom" ²², and an eventually fatal illness, "a sore sickness and of long duration" ²³, much more shortly described than John's, but seemingly very similar. Jacob then relates how the next ruler, that is Michael VIII, formerly Theodore's "servant", had the ministers of both previous reigns put to death "till not a couple of them remained together", and had Theodore's son (John IV) blinded and mutilated "destroying his fruit from above, his roots from below" ²⁴ — a just punishment for his father's and grandfathers' iniquities. He then rescinded the decree of forced baptism: "He assembled all the sages of Israel in his kingdom; they came before him faint of heart. And he said to them, 'I know full well that Batsh cast you down and that for this he did not prosper. "Now go and worship, you your sons and your daughters, keep His commandments and bless me also" ²⁵. Be you ever my friends and wish me well, "while I shall fight for you and you shall hold your peace" ' ' ' ²⁶.

These parts of Jacob's letter are primarily important for the historian because they are the only source, with the exception of two very much later and vaguer references to John Vatatzes ²⁷, which gives the information that John and Theodore Angelus persecuted their Jewish

20 Isaiah XVII.14.

21 Kobak, p. 26; Eisenstein, p. 191.

22 Cf. Ecclesiastes VII.9.

23 Cf. Deuteronomy XXVIII.59.

24 Amos II.9.

25 Cf. Exodus XII.31—32.

26 Cf. Exodus XIV.14.

27 One reference is in a sixteenth century "History of Mankind" by Samuel al-Gazi of Candia (see Starr, p. 23, note 9), the other is in a seventeenth century eulogy of John Vatatzes which mixes fact with legend; see A. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905), pp. 179—188.

subjects. This information has never been questioned by Jewish or general historians — perhaps because Jacob's other instances of persecution, in Spain and Morocco, are independently well attested. Doelger, for example, in his register of official edicts by Byzantine emperors, while suggesting that John's decree can be otherwise supported, specifically cites only Jacob's letter and Lewin's translation²⁸. Nevertheless, the letter presents certain difficulties which have not had the attention they deserve:

First of all, Jacob does not assign any particular cause for the persecutions. Obviously, from his point of view, he had no need to do so. Even had he known of any, apart from the general likelihood of persecution by the Christian regimes of his day, his sole purpose was simply to warn the apostate of the retribution that awaited the persecutors. Here, however, it is necessary to look for a cause since, in this respect, the Byzantine Empire differed somewhat from other Christian regimes: although its Jews suffered from many disabilities, Judaism, as distinct from Christian heresies, was officially recognised, and its practice was protected by law. Persecution by the state was comparatively rare; that by Theodore Angelus and John Vatatzes was the first for nearly three hundred years. In fact, from the reign of Justinian in the sixth century to the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders there had only been four²⁹. For the persecution by Theodore Angelus there is, indeed, a cause given in the two standard histories of the Thessalonica community by Emmanuel and by Nehamah, but it is not satisfactory: it was a reaction to manifestations of hostility by the Jews, a hostility aroused by Theodore's claim to the Byzantine succession as against Nicea since this claim, it is supposed, had set him at odds with the clergy who for long had been on relatively good terms

28 F. Doelger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ostroemischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 3 Teil, Muenchen-Berlin (1932), no. 1817; J. Starr, "The Status of the Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade", *Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines Paris, 1948*, vol. 1, Paris (1950), p. 200, supposes that the decree was enforced only at Thessalonica, but the relevant passage (above, p. 202) hardly bears this interpretation.

29 See Starr, *ibid.*; cf. his *Byzantine Jewry 641-1204*, Athens (1939), pp. 1-8 and my *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London (1971), pp. 163-164.

with the Jews of Thessalonica³⁰. But the opposite of this explanation is more likely. Firstly, the Jews of northern Greece generally seem for long to have been a source of embarrassment to the clergy, Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica, was shocked to discover, shortly after his appointment in 1174, that Jews had been freely buying or renting the houses of Christians, even with holy pictures still on the walls, and had as freely been disputing about rents and prices. And Eustathius found that he could not settle matters out of hand, but was forced to seek the advice of the patriarch³¹. By Theodore's day, the situation had not essentially changed. Constantine Cabasilas, Bishop of Durazzo, in a reply to a question about the rights of the Armenians to build their own churches, which he had addressed to an expert in ecclesiastical law, Demetrius Chometianus, Archbishop of Ochrida, was told that Jews, too, had the right to build synagogues — but limited to special quarters of the cities in which they lived. Yet, clearly, in practice, things were no different from the apparent absence earlier of this limitation, since Demetrius went on to stress the penalties for its non-observance: all property outside the quarters allotted is to be destroyed, as it should have been in the past³². Secondly, it was, perhaps, such destruction of Jewish property which was the despoiling of their possessions noted by Jacob. For Theodore would have wished to please his clergy. Far from quarreling over his claim, he had every reason to be on good terms with them and particularly with Demetrius, their leading figure. It is now some twenty years that the older

30 See J. Nehamah, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, vol. 1, Salonica (1935), pp. 89–96; cf. I. S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, Paris (1936), pp. 38–39.

31 *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula*, ed. T. L. Tafel, Frankfurt (1832), pp. 339–340 (Letter 22); cf. *ibid.*, p. 66 (a Lenten sermon, which Emmanuel [p. 40] actually thought was a plea for tolerance towards the Jews).

32 *Demetrii Chometiani ad C. Cabasilam responsum XXII*, ed. J. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra et Classica Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, vol. 6, Paris (1891), cols. 661–664; cf. Starr, *Romania*, p. 81; Charanis, pp. 76–77 who first noticed this *responsum* but mistakenly ascribed it to the Bishop of Citrus. On Chometianus, the most recent is D. M. Nicol, "Refugees, Mixed Population and Local Patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade", *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Rapports et Co-Rapports I: Histoire, II: Com position et mouvement de la population dans le monde byzantin*, Athens (1976), pp. 11–13 and note 34.

view, which had relied too heavily on Nicean sources, has been corrected: the clergy of northern Greece, and particularly Demetrius who had himself crowned Theodore at Thessalonica, were staunch defenders of his claim to be the only legitimate Byzantine emperor³³. A possible cause of this persecution, therefore, was an allegation by the clergy that the Jewish subjects of Theodore Angelus, emboldened by a relatively tolerant atmosphere, were exceeding the bounds of what was legally permitted them. As for John Vatatzes, the causes of his decree, as of its continuation by his son, must be even more a matter of speculation. Both may have been part of what has been called "the growing xenophobia of the Greeks of the Nicean Empire" on a par, it has been suggested, with the massacre of Armenians from the Troad where the cause was clear enough: their active assistance to Henry of Flanders in his invasion of Asia Minor³⁴. However, whatever the specific causes for this decree and for its continuation might have been, Michael's revocation of it is readily explicable by his general policy of renewing agreements with potentially useful commercial elements and, once he had gained possession of it in 1261, of re-building and re-populating his half-ruined capital. And Jacob's is a reasonable implication that this revocation applied to Thessalonica, for by then Michael was ruling there³⁵.

Apart from the difficulty of satisfactorily explaining the persecutions, Jacob's letter presents others which have received equally little attention. In fact, the only one ever seriously discussed — one that does not directly concern us here — was that Jacob, apparently "of Venice" according to the opening of Kobak's text, calls James I of Aragon "our lord" a contradiction once supposed by Steinschneider to destroy the reliability of much that he relates. To-day, Mann's conclusion from

33 See D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, Oxford (1957), pp. 76-77, 80-81, 92-93.

34 M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicea 1204-1261*, Oxford (1975), p. 32; on these Armenians, cf. P. Charanis, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire", *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (1961), p. 237.

35 See D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*, London (1972), pp. 65-66; Starr, *Romania*, p. 27; cf. also for northern Greece the Jewish privileges included by Andronicus II in an edict of privileges to Janina (1319), see *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich & J. Mueller, vol. 5, Vienna (1887), p. 83.

his examination of manuscript and other material is usually accepted: Jacob moved from Carcassone to Aragon where he passed many years at Valencia — a textual emendation from “Venice” not too drastic in the Hebrew³⁶. Difficulties in the Byzantine section, however, are no less worthy of study. One of them concerns the fate of Theodore Angelus. Most of Jacob’s account of what happened to him fits in well enough with his sudden decision, still a puzzle for historians, to attack Asen, and with his defeat at the battle of Klokonitsa, between Adrianople and Philippopolis, in the spring of 1230. Similarly, Nicean sources agree with Jacob, if not for his reason, that Theodore was thus indeed punished for his sins³⁷. On the other hand, nearly all the sources relate how Theodore was blinded, or otherwise ill treated, only after some years of comfortable captivity. The one source where he is immediately blinded (as Jacob implies) was written far from these events, and further detracts from its reliability by calling the battle “a fight between Greeks”³⁸. Of course, with Jacob it may be a legitimate enough dramatic device to enhance the effect of his polemic. There is a similar contrast between the dramatic and the probable in his account of Theodore’s punishment. On the one hand, there is no *a priori* reason for doubting that Jews were ordered to carry it out — and not just because of Asen’s sense of justice. The use of Jews as executioners was a known custom both in Bulgaria and in Greece where, whatever their legal privileges or status, this most unpleasant of tasks might be often laid upon them. Then their refusal would be but one of many instances where those so ordered sought every expedient to avoid increasing thus still further the unpopularity of their community, whether or not additionally prompted by mercy as Jacob

36 See M. Steinschneider, “Mazkeret ha-Mizrah”, *Jeschurun* 7 (1871), Hebrew section, p. 85; Mann, pp. 363–366; Roth, pp. 120–121. Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 1, Philadelphia (1961), p. 152, p. 408 (note 32), mentions Mann’s emendation but still speaks of Jacob as from Venice.

37 See *Ephraim Chronographia* 8065–8111, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn (1840), pp. 325–326; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera* XXV–XXVI, ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig (1903), vol. 1, pp. 41–42; *Nicephori Gregorae Historia Byzantina* II.3, ed. L. Schopen, Bonn (1829), vol. 1, p. 28; cf. Nicol, *Despotate*, pp. 104–111, and for the site of the battle, p. 112, note 4.

38 Richard of San Germano, *Chronica Regni Siciliae*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 7, part 2, Bologna (1937–38), p. 166.

states — which with Emmanuel becomes “religious scruples and a patriotic sentiment”³⁹. On the other hand, the punishment the recalcitrants are supposed to have suffered is unlikely. The difficulty is topographical: Neither near the site of the battle, nor near Thessalonica, nor for that matter in the region of the Bulgarian capital of Tirnovo, does the configuration of the land — a river valley, a plain and a plateau respectively — fit the probability of “a mountain reaching up to heaven”. It is certainly likely that these Jews were put to death but, again, Jacob was presumably dramatising how this was done⁴⁰. The same sort of dramatisation may be responsible for the mixture of fact and fancy in his account of the end of the Lascarids. There was certainly a fierce struggle between Theodore Lascaris and the Nicean nobility⁴¹. But Michael did not make a general massacre of Lascarid ministers — at the worst he was involved in the deaths of two of them⁴² — while there seems to be no source which asserts that John IV “had his roots destroyed from below”, that is that he was castrated as well as blinded.

More serious than all the foregoing difficulties, needing further discussion though they do, is the difficulty Jacob poses by his description of the last illness of John Vatatzes. For it has nothing whatever in common with its description in Byzantine sources. One of the chief ones, Nicephoras Gregoras, calls John’s illness an “epilepsy or inflammation of the brain” and gives its symptoms as torpor, giddiness and fits of unconsciousness⁴³. And historians have usually agreed that John’s last illness was severe epilepsy⁴⁴. The total incompatibility of Jacob’s description is even more puzzling than at first glance because

39 See J. Starr, “Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 12 (1942), pp. 74–76; *idem*, *Romania*, pp. 27–28 (and note), p.45 (and note); S. Assaf, “Talyanim Yehudim”, *Tarbits* 5 (1934–35), pp. 224–226; Emmanuel, p. 41.

40 Emmanuel alone (p. 40, note 1) notices the topographical difficulty but offers no solution.

41 See Angold, pp. 74–79.

42 See Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 33, p. 35.

43 *Historia Byzantina* II.8, ed. Schopen, vol. 1, pp. 49–50.

44 See e.g. A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicea, The Story of an Empire in Exile*, London (1912), p. 192; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey, Oxford (1956), p. 394.

Jacob had medical qualifications ⁴⁵, and thus presumably would have been careful in his description of symptoms. His details do indeed suggest such qualifications — but they are details for the wrong illness. It is strange, therefore, that nobody has so much as drawn attention to this difficulty, let alone proposed an explanation. Of those commentators who mention the illness at all, Steinschneider says that it was epilepsy but does not mention this contradiction, which he might well have been expected to do as an apt illustration of Jacob's alleged unreliability ⁴⁶. Lewin merely remarks that Jacob describes the illness in great detail ⁴⁷. Mann follows neither Jacob nor the Byzantine sources: John had an apoplectic fit and then died after a year's illness ⁴⁸. Krauss, on the other hand, simply states that John had a severe stomach complaint, and that his son suffered from it too, "which is also an established historical fact" ⁴⁹.

It has to be admitted that, although this is indeed a problem needing a solution and ought to be discussed as such, no solution is being proposed here. However, Jacob's description does suggest a possible line of speculation. The symptoms he gives, if wholly at variance with epilepsy, are remarkably like those of the illness which, as recorded by Josephus and then by Christian sources, is supposed to have killed King Herod.

"The fever that he had", says Josephus ⁵⁰, "was a light one and did not so much indicate symptoms of inflammation to the touch as it produced internal damage. He also had a terrible desire to eat because of this ⁵¹, for it was impossible not to seek relief. There was also an ulceration of the bowels and intestinal pains that were particularly terrible, and a moist, transparent suppuration of the feet. And he suffered similarly from an abdominal

45 Kobak, p. 2.

46 Steinschneider, p. 86.

47 Lewin, p. 120.

48 Mann, p. 373.

49 Krauss, p. 54.

50 *Flavii Josephi Antiquitates Judaici* XVII.166-170; English translation by R. Marcus, *Josephus*, Harvard University Press (1927), vol. 8, p. 449; cf. *Eusebii Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.8 (in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeca-Latina, vol. 20, col. 104).

51 The Greek to feel a strong itch, is normally emended to to take (food); see note C to text, "*aviditas accipiendi cibi*".

ailment, as well as from a gangrene of his privy parts that produced worms. His breathing was marked by extreme tension and was very unpleasant because of the disagreeable exhalation of his breath and his constant gasping. He also had convulsions in every limb that took on an unendurable severity”.

In another passage, Josephus mentions that Herod had tumours on the feet and a swelling of the abdomen⁵². There have been many guesses about the nature of this illness but, not surprisingly, epilepsy has not been one of them⁵³, any more than it can be inferred from the similar symptoms for John Vatatzes. There is another possible parallel. According to Jacob, Theodore II Lascaris died from an illness very like the one that had killed his father. Now, it could be that while alluding to the accepted notion that Theodore's illness (though it was epilepsy) had been inherited⁵⁴, Jacob is also alluding to the tradition, common to Jews and Christians, that Agrippa I had died of the same illness which had killed his grandfather Herod — and had killed him for the same reason: both had suffered the same divine retribution, Herod for his cruel treatment of his Jewish subjects, Agrippa because he had allowed himself to be praised as God⁵⁵. It may be that for Jacob, therefore, here was yet another polemical device to overawe his Christian opponent: the symptoms he describes, precisely because they recall those ascribed to Herod and Agrippa, are the appropriate ones for the two new persecutors and blasphemers. However, before this explanation for Jacob's description of John's symptoms could be seriously considered, it would at least have to be shown that a familiarity with these passages in Josephus by both Jacob and Pablo Christiani, or with similar passages in Christian sources, can be reasonably assumed. In the meantime, the difficulty posed by these symptoms must remain unresolved though it need not, any more than the other difficulties discussed here, necessarily detract from the reliability of the main information given us in Jacob's letter.

and the Latin translation to Eusebius, references as in note 50, above.

52 *Flavii Josephi Bellum Judaicum* I.656; ed. & trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, vol. 2, pp. 311–312.

53 On Herod's disease, see A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes*, Berlin (1969), pp. 639–640 (note 198).

54 See Ostrogorsky, p. 395.

55 For references, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. C. Roth and others, Jerusalem (1971), vol. 8, cols. 384, 387; and see *Acts of the Apostles* XII.23.

SHABBETAI DONNOLO AS A BYZANTINE JEWISH FIGURE

Shabbetai Donnolo, born in the year 913 at Oria in Apulia, is best known as a doctor. His *Sefer Merqaboth* (*Book of Compounded Medicaments*) sometimes called *Sefer ha-Yaqar* (*the Precious Book*), a list of herbal prescriptions suitable for various ailments, was first edited by Steinschneider over a hundred years ago.¹ It has since been quoted from and referred to in medical and historical literature, both Jewish and non-Jewish, a continuing interest which has culminated in the meticulous studies devoted to it, and to Donnolo himself in its context, by Professor Zvi Muntner.² In fact, Donnolo's medical reputation has overshadowed his work in two other fields. The first is cosmology. This forms the major part of his *Hakhmoni* (a title presumably implying wisdom) which was a commentary on the *Sefer Yeşirah*, a mystical account of the creation. A critical edition of the *Hakhmoni* was published by Castelli in 1880³ and, in relation to the enormous growth since then of studies in Jewish mysticism, it has been somewhat neglected. The second field is astrology – in his day, of course, scarcely to be distinguished from astronomy. Most of what he has to say on this topic is also in the *Hakhmoni*. The remainder is in his *Sefer Maxxaloth* (*Book of Constellations*), a commentary on the astrological midrash usually called the *Baraita de-Shemuel ha-Qatan*. The extant portions of the *Sefer Maxxaloth* were edited by Luzzatto in 1843⁴ and they, too, have attracted remarkably

* Revised text of a paper read at a seminar of the Institute of Jewish Studies, on February 28, 1973. I wish to acknowledge most gratefully the help received from participants in the discussion.

¹ See M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Fragment des ältesten medicinischen Werkes in hebräische Sprache*, Berlin (1867).

² Z. MUNTNER, *R. Shabbetai Donnolo*, 2 vols., Jerusalem (1950) (in Hebrew).

³ D. CASTELLI, *Il Commento di Sabbetai Donnolo sul libro de la Creazione*, Florence (1880).

⁴ *Sefer Maxxaloth*, ed. S. D. LUZZATTO, *Kerem Hemed* 7 (1843), pp. 61–67; *Baraita de-Shemuel ha-Qatan*, ed. J. D. EISENSTEIN, *Osar Midraschim*, New York (1915), pp. 542–547.

little attention. In both these fields Donnolo, while not attaining, for example, the level of his great contemporary Sa'adiah nor, for that matter, that of his own *Sefer Merqahoth*, does include some valuable material for the history of science and of speculative thought. In the present context the value of all three of his works lies in the light they throw on him as a figure of his community and of his age.

In the year of Donnolo's birth Apulia was one of the two divisions (the other being Calabria) into which southern Italy was divided as provinces of the Byzantine empire. Neither the place nor the year of his death are known. It is only certain that his life spanned most of the tenth century, for he was alive in 982 – the last date mentioned in his writings.¹ It was an important period in the history of southern Italy: a period of repeated attacks by Muslim raiders, complicated by an involved struggle for power between Byzantines, Lombards and Germans which concluded in a decisive, if only temporary Byzantine victory. It was an equally important period in the history of the empire as a whole. Byzantine ascendancy in southern Italy was part of a general ascendancy, that of Byzantium's great age under the Macedonian emperors which then reached its culmination and which (with all the necessary re-evaluations of modern historiography) cannot be said to have long outlasted the century's end.²

Oria is about half way between the ports of Taranto and Brindisi which, in the time of Donnolo and indeed long previously, were ports of transit on trade routes from the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and of the far east to Europe. Oria was the only place of any size between the two ports and profited greatly from its situation. It was famous for its luxury products, particularly for its draperies and fine cloths.³ Its wealth was comparable to that of Lombard cities not under Byzantine rule, such as Salerno, Amalfi and Naples.⁴ The Jews of Oria shared in this prosperity. The story of the 'Amittai family as told by 'Aḥima'aš clearly indicates the existence of a firmly established community with the resources to survive the heavy misfortunes that occasionally befell it.⁵ Of one such misfortune Donnolo himself was a witness. Oria was strategic-

¹ See J. STARR, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Athens (1939), p. 53, and Source No. 113.

² See G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. HUSSEY, 2nd edn., Oxford (1968), pp. 217-235.

³ J. GAY, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, Paris (1904), p. 207.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 580-581.

⁵ *Sefer Yubasin*, ed. A. NEUBAUER, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles (Anecdota Oxoniensia Semitic Series ii)*, Oxford (1895), pp. 114-127.

ally important. Perched on a little hill, it dominated the flat, well-cultivated country round about and was frequently the residence of the military governor. When, from the middle of the ninth century, Muslim raids were becoming a serious danger, the Bishop of Brindisi moved his seat there, for it was well fortified and was supposed to be more easily defensible.¹ But in 925 it was raided and sacked, apparently without much resistance, by 'Ubaydullah, the independent Muslim ruler of Sicily and Tunisia. For the Byzantines it was a disaster. All men capable of bearing arms were killed out of hand. Ten thousand other inhabitants were taken for ransom, among them the military governor whose ransom was fixed at five thousand gold dinars (perhaps a quarter of a million sterling at pre-1939 values), and a yearly tribute, or bribe, of eleven thousand gold dinars, that had once been paid by the province but had long been omitted, had to be renewed. 'Ubaydullah, who had revived the enthusiasm of early Islam, calling himself al-Mahdi – the divinely inspired guide – and denouncing the heresies of the 'Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad, proudly displayed Oria's riches to his admiring followers and, during the next four years, sent them repeatedly to pillage the cities of Apulia.²

The Jews of Oria suffered with the rest. In his introduction to the *Hakbmoni* Donnolo relates that "ten wise and righteous rabbis of blessed memory were then slain, among them the great and righteous R. Hasadiah b. Hananel, of blessed memory, one of my kinsfolk, of the family of my grandfather, R. Joel, and other pious elders of the congregation, men who were examples to their generation, teachers and students. I, Shabbetai Donnolo, was then twelve years old" – this is the source for 913 as the date of his birth – "at Taranto I was ransomed with my parents' money, but they, and the rest of my family, were taken away to Palermo and to Africa. As for me, I remained in the land ruled by the Romans" – i.e. the Byzantines.³

This short but vivid account, apart from much other information that it can yield, is the starting-point for the building up of a picture of Donnolo as a Jew in tenth-century Byzantine Italy. However, it is not possible to proceed on similar lines since, so far as I know, it is the solitary example of a direct or indirect reference by him to contemporary events. He says nothing about the further raids by

¹ GAY, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

² M. AMARI, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², ii, Catania (1935), pp. 202–204.

³ CASTELLI, Hebrew text, pp. 3–4; STARR, Source No. 87.

'Ubaydullah, which included Oria, nor about another wave of raids towards the end of his life on other places with Jewish communities, such as Bari and Otranto. Nor is there any reflection in his writings of the worst misfortune to afflict Byzantine Jewry in his day – the attempt by the emperor Romanus I in 943 at forcible conversion, which caused many to flee to Khazaria and particularly affected the communities of Otranto, Bari and Oria.¹ For the ways in which his writings do help to reveal him as a Byzantine Jewish figure, it is first necessary to say something about the relation of Byzantine Jewry to the state and to the general population.

In at least one important respect Byzantium was the true heir of Rome. Roman civilisation had been based on the city, and in the west could not long survive its decay. But the cities of the eastern Roman provinces, linked to Constantinople as the greatest of them, had continued to flourish as centres of trade and industry, preserving the viable money economy which had been one source of Roman power. The Byzantine *nomisma* or *solidus*, despite a gradual diminution of its gold content, remained acceptable currency not only throughout the empire but also throughout the known world. The consequence was that the state could afford to pay in cash, instead of in land or privileges, for the services of soldiers and administrators. Although by Donnolo's day the situation had somewhat deteriorated, the ruling institution – the emperor with his civil service and his professional army – could guarantee security and enforce the law to an extent inconceivable under a western ruler with his hierarchy of semi-independent nobles. The absence of a feudal structure meant that Byzantium, in its great age, was a land of rank, not of status: a feudal hierarchy with its infinity of social categories did not exist. Jewish life was sensibly influenced by this sort of open society. The Jews were not confined to any particular trade or calling nor, until the early twelfth century, by which time Byzantium had changed considerably, to a particular quarter of a city. On the contrary, they were an integral element of the population.² They could own houses and land. They could be members of the guilds, notably of the silk

¹ See J. MANN, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati (1931), pp. 12–14, 23–25; STARR, Source No. 94.

² See A. GALANTÉ, *Les juifs de Constantinople sous Byzance*, Istanbul (1940), pp. 23–25; C. EMEREAU, "Constantinople sous Théodore le Jeune", *Byzantion* 2 (1925), p. 112.

guilds – the most powerful of them all.¹ They were to be found among the supporters of the rival chariot teams in the hippodrome, in fact a form of political activity,² and they helped to defend the city walls in the ranks of the militia.³ And there were Jewish doctors in sufficient numbers for their possible influence on their Christian patients to worry a Church Council at the end of the seventh century.⁴ In Donnolo's day, we know of one by name – Abraham ben Sason, who was also head of the community in Bari.⁵ This position of the Jews in Byzantium was recognised by law. As in Rome, Judaism was a permitted religion. Byzantine legislation laid many restrictions on Jews, but gave them protection. From the point of view of the Church, the Jews were part of the living testimony for the truth of the scriptures, and as such should not be harmed. Although this idea was not infrequently expressed by western churchmen too, the difference is that in a highly organised state it could be put into practice. During the seven hundred years or so that elapsed between Justinian's interference in the service of the synagogue,⁶ in a sense only a corollary to his passionate interest in the affairs of the Church, and the fall of Constantinople to the crusaders in 1204, there were only four attempts by the emperors to abolish what was, nevertheless, an anomaly in a fiercely orthodox Christian state, and to force the Jews into conversion.⁷ Even when it is remembered that close contact between Jew and Christian did not have to mean friendship, that the prologues to most legislation concerning Jews, favourable though it might be, were couched in

¹ GALANTÉ, p. 51; cf. R. LOPEZ, "The Role of Trade in the Economic Re-adjustment of Byzantium in the Seventh Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), p. 83; Benjamin of Tudela's well-known references are, of course, to a much later period, but they are not irrelevant; see *Sefer Mass'aoth*, ed. and trans. M. ADLER, London (1907), text, pp. 12, 13, 17; trans., pp. 10, 11, 14.

² See A. SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London (1971), pp. 28–29, 47–48. For the history of the political role of the *Factiones* in the hippodrome, see PAULY-WISSOWA, *RE* vi, 2, 1954 f., especially 1956, and iv, 1, 994.

³ See S. *Demetrii miracula*, ed. MIGNE, PGL 116, 1332B; cf. I. S. EMMANUEL, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, Paris (1936), p. 36.

⁴ J. D. MANSI, *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, xi, col. 945E.

⁵ MANN, p. 26, note 28.

⁶ See his decree (*Novella* 146) of the year 553, *Iustiniani novellae*, ed. R. SCHOELL and W. KRÖLL, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, iii, Berlin (1954), p. 714; English translation in J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London (1934), pp. 392–393; for the literature, see S. BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, iii, New York (1957), p. 233, note 11.

⁷ Before that of Romanus, there had been attempts at forced baptism by Heraclius in 632, by Leo III in 721 or 722, and by Basil I in 874.

hostile and insulting language, and that there are many other instances of anti-semitic outbursts, official and unofficial, Byzantine Jews were nevertheless usually secure enough to be threatened by those dangers only which, like the sack of Oria, constituted a threat to the whole population.

In such a situation, it is to be expected that Jewish learning flourished. And while its general level, as in the particular case of Donnolo, is not really comparable to that reached by Jewish scholars in the lands of Islam, its achievements had more than a local significance. The communities of Byzantine Italy were important enough centres of talmudic study for Rabbenu Tam (1100-1171), an outstanding authority of his day, to adapt the words of Isaiah and declare, "For out of Bari shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto".¹ Other studies were preserved or revived. Shefatyah ben 'Amittai and his brother Hananel were versed in the Palestinian and Babylonian traditions of mystical literature, and it was from Oria that much in these traditions reached the scholars north of the Alps who were to be the founders of the Kabbalah.² Shefatyah, his son 'Amittai and Silanus of Venosa wrote liturgical poems which inspired the Qalonymos family of Lucca and the liturgists of France and Germany, their compositions including examples which are still used to-day in the services for the Day of Atonement.³ The *Yosippon*, a historical work of doubtful authorship largely derived from the *Antiquities* of Josephus, was transmitted from Otranto through Spain to the rest of Europe, to become the basis for much mediaeval Jewish historiography – and later to gain an extraordinary popularity with Christian hebraists.⁴ Evidence of Jewish learning from other parts of the empire is more limited, but the difference may be misleading. If the chronicle of 'Aḥima'aš had not been chanced upon in a Madrid library, very little could have been said about the Jews of Byzantine Italy. The respect which the Gaon Hai ben Sherira (939-1038) accorded to Greek rabbinical

¹ See I. A. AGUS in *The World History of the Jewish People*, Tel-Aviv (1966), p. 191.

² See G. SCHOLEM, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York (1961), pp. 82-84, 101-102.

³ See J. SCHIRMANN, *An Anthology of Hebrew Verse in Italy*, Berlin (1934), pp. 2-11 (in Hebrew); *The Service of the Synagogue, Day of Atonement, Part 2*, London (1955), pp. 262-263 (The "Routledge Mahzor"); cf. SCHIRMANN in the *World History of the Jewish People*, pp. 251-252.

⁴ See BARON, *op. cit.*, (p. 5, n. 6), vi, pp. 189-195, 417-420.

courts,¹ and the influence which the *Leqab Tov* of Tuviah ben Eliezer of Castoria exercised on rabbinical exegesis in western Europe,² point to a tradition of study which, as in Italy, in addition to its intrinsic value, provides a geographical and historical link between the world of the Talmud and that of the French codifiers or German mystics. Of this tradition, Donnolo's *Hakhmoni* is a foremost example, particularly its first section, which proposes an original approach to the problem of man in God's image, and of which I shall say something later. But his reputation outside the empire is in another field, The *Sefer Merqaboth* is the first European medical text in Hebrew, and Donnolo became so well known as a doctor that for centuries he was associated with the founding of the school of Salerno, the first European centre for the study of medicine.³

Is Donnolo's reputation symptomatic? Did the comparative security and social integration of Byzantine Jews produce another result that might be expected – a degree of assimilation to the extent of acquiring something of the dominant culture? The Jews of Greece and Asia Minor used Greek considerably, as they had done long before. Not only did they speak and understand it but, from the time of Justinian onwards, there are many examples of transliterations into Hebrew which are quite distinct from the host of Greek loan words in the Talmud. There exists a tenth century Hebrew-Greek glossary of mishnaic terms,⁴ while Byzantine Karaites were familiar with Greek philosophical concepts, apparently from the original sources and not from their Arabic translations.⁵ Similar, but more impressive evidence is to be found in Donnolo's writings.

First of all, he himself declares that the *Sefer Merqaboth* is intended "to teach Jewish doctors and to explain to them how to prepare ointments according to the wisdom of Israel and of Macedon".⁶

¹ *Teshuvot ha-Geonim*, ed. A. HARKAVY, *Zikkaron la-rishonim we-gam la'aharonim*, iv, 1, Berlin (1887), no. 225 (pp. 105-106).

² See Z. ANKORI, *Karaites in Byzantium*, Jerusalem and New York (1959), pp. 261-280.

³ See H. FRIEDENWALD, *The Jews in Medicine*, i, Baltimore (1944), pp. 148-152, 223-224; P. KRISTELLER, "The School of Salerno: its Development and its Contribution to the History of Learning", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 17 (1945), pp. 138-194; G. SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i, Washington (1927), pp. 651, 682-683.

⁴ See J. STARR, "A Fragment of a Greek Mishnaic Glossary", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 6 (1934-35), pp. 353-367.

⁵ ANKORI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, *supra*), pp. 193-197.

⁶ MUNTNER, *op. cit.* (p. 1, n. 2), i, p. 8.

There is no doubt that by "Macedon" Byzantium is meant, not only because of the obvious reference to the ruling dynasty, but also because a parallel usage occurs in near-contemporary sources – in 'Aḥima'aṣ and in the Khazar correspondence.¹ The question is, why "Arab wisdom" is not mentioned? This was the period of a great expansion of medicine under the 'Abbasids, initially begun by translations from the Greek, but culminating in such figures as al-Razi with 113 major works to his credit, including *al-Hawi*, a veritable encyclopaedia of medical knowledge.² In particular, in a book of herbal prescriptions one might expect to find use of the sufficiently famous al-Mas'udi who, though primarily an historian, wrote copiously on botany.³ The omission is especially odd when it is recalled that contacts between the empire and the lands of Islam were close and not unfriendly, in times of war as in times of peace. So odd is it indeed, that Joshua Starr, in his collection of Byzantine Jewish sources, followed Steinschneider by proposing to emend *hokhmah yisra'el* to *hokhmah 'ishma'el*.⁴

However that may be, the contents of the *Sefer Merqaboth* justify the omission of a reference to "Arab wisdom". Of the hundred and eighteen prescriptions that it contains, only three have names of drugs or symptoms possibly derived from Arabic. The rest are derived from Greek, from Latin, and from the contemporary Italian vernacular.⁵ Thus, *hokhmah yisra'el* is no less conspicuously absent. There is a striking contrast here to a similar work by the doctor 'Asaf ha-rofeh, according to Muntner a native of Byzantine Palestine, whose descriptions and treatments Donnolo occasionally reproduces, but who has two hundred Hebrew or Aramaic words for drugs, many of them from the Bible and the Talmud, as against forty-one Greek and forty-four Persian.⁶ The *Sefer Merqaboth* is closer to Dioscorides, the Greek doctor in Nero's army, whose work on botany remained an authority for centuries in the west, and to his popular Byzantine successor Oribasius, a copy of whose work was presented to 'Abd

¹ NEUBAUER (*op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 5), p. 125; S. SCHECHTER, "An Unknown Khazar Document", *JQR*, New Series, 3 (1912-1913), p. 204, line 16 (trans. p. 214); p. 208, line 51 (trans. p. 216); p. 210, line 81 (trans. p. 218).

² See E. G. BROWNE, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge (1921), pp. 44-53.

³ See R. A. NICHOLSON, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, London (1936), pp. 353-354.

⁴ STARR, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 165.

⁵ MUNTNER, (*op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 2), ii, pp. 28-29.

⁶ See I. LÖW, *Die Flora der Juden*, iv, Vienna (1934), pp. 169-176.

ar-Rahman III of Cordova in 945.¹ Another medical text ascribed to Donnolo is the so-called *Practica* which follows the *Sefer Merqaboth* in the manuscript and is written by the same copyist. It is a systematic list of the parts of the body, beginning with the head, and of their possible diseases. The *Practica* is a clear example of Greek influence. All the terms used derive from Greek, but a very few only are similar to such terms in the Talmud. The majority are direct transliterations or adaptations by the author.² In this field, then, a strong link to the dominant culture is highly probable.

The same is true of Donnolo's astrological writings, although here the situation is more complicated. His names for the planets and for the signs of the zodiac are invariably the traditional Hebrew ones, as are the terms which he uses for their movements in the heavens. So far as the content of his work is concerned, he tells us that, in order to write the *Hakhmoni*, he studied both the Greek and the "Macedonian" science of the stars, that is both the hellenistic or classical and the Byzantine sources. But he also took pains to familiarise himself with Arabic sources, especially hiring (at great expense, he says) an Iraqi teacher for that purpose.³ What effect did these sources have on the result? It is hard to answer. The only concrete evidence is in the *Sefer Mazzaloth*, not in the *Hakhmoni*, where he proposes Greek and Arabic equivalents to the Hebrew for Orion, Arcturus and the Pleiades, and for which he offers an etymological explanation.⁴ Generally speaking, it is not possible to determine whether his astrological exposition owes more to Byzantine or to Arab systems, because usually the references to a particular subject in both either derive from the same Ptolemaic original, or all vary so much one from another that no conclusion can be drawn. For example, in regard to planetary *melothesia* (i.e. the attribution to each planet of rule over a particular organ) all systems agree that the sun rules the right eye, the moon the left. Regarding the other organs, not only does Donnolo differ from the Byzantines and the Arabs, but also Byzantine texts usually differ both one from another and from the authoritative exposition of Arab astrological doctrine by the early eleventh-century scholar al-Biruni.

¹ See A. A. VASILIEV, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, i, St Petersburg (1902), pp. 270-278 (in Russian).

² MUNTNER, *op. cit.*, (p. 1, n. 2), i, pp. 109-144.

³ CASTELLI (see p. 1, n. 3), Hebrew text, p. 5.

⁴ *Sefer Mazzaloth*, ed. LUZZATTO, pp. 64-65.

On one subject, perhaps, there is room to suppose a specifically Byzantine influence. This is the nature and function of the "Teli". In biblical Hebrew *teli* means *quiver*, and the origin of its astronomical application is controversial; but it is reasonably certain that in Jewish tradition the *teli* was an invisible celestial entity of great power which, for human understanding, was best describable as a dragon. However, it could be one of two distinct kinds of dragon. It could be the equivalent of the *tannin*, or leviathan which, according to the *Pirqey de-Rabbi Eliezer* and similar sources, God created on the fifth day and hung the world on its fins;¹ the leviathan, which was the *nahash bariab* of *Isaiab* and *Job*,² where the epithet *bariab* could be taken to mean that the *nahash*, the serpent, was a kind of central bar or girder for the earth.³ Thus this *teli*, or dragon, was the equivalent of the *axis mundi* of the Ptolemaic universe, the imaginary line joining the celestial poles and running through the centre of the earth, round which all the heavenly bodies revolved. But the *teli* could also be the dragon whose head or tail temporarily obliterated the sun or the moon. Thus, for example, we are told in the ninth-century compilation *Seder Tanna'im we-Amora'im* that on a certain day "the *teli* swallowed the moon which straightway disappeared from sight".⁴ The *teli* in this sense was the equivalent of the lunar dragon, the imaginary line joining the lunar nodes, the two points where the lunar orbit crosses the ecliptic. This line was called a dragon in Ptolemaic usage, because when new moon or full moon occurs at or near the nodes there is respectively a solar or lunar eclipse; and the ancient belief had been that eclipses were caused by a dragon. The ascending node, where the moon passes from south to north of the ecliptic, was the head of the dragon, the Byzantines' ἀναβιβάζων, the Arabs' راس الجوزمر (*ras al-jawzabr*), the Hebrew *rosh ha-Teli*; the descending node, where the moon passes from north to south, was its tail - καταβιβάζων, *dhanab al-jawzabr*, ذنب الجوزمر, *zenav ha-Teli*. Both the Byzantines and the Arabs also gave the lunar dragon a purely astrological function. Because the nodes themselves were observed to move through the ecliptic, the

¹ *Pirqey de-R. Eliezer*, § 9, trans. G. FRIEDLANDER, London (1916), pp. 63-64; *Baraita de-ma'areb Bereshith*, ed. J. D. EISENSTEIN, 'Ozar Midrashim, pp. 253, 254.

² *Job* xxvi: 13; *Isaiab* xxvii: 1.

³ See A. EPSTEIN, "Recherches sur le Séfer Yeçira", *REJ* 28 (1894), pp. 63-64.

⁴ *Seder tanna'im we-amora'im*, ed. S. D. LUZZATTO, *Kerem Hemed* 4 (1839), p. 187.

head and tail of the dragon acquired the status of planets, with the power of affecting mens' fortunes.¹

In the *Baraita de-Shemuel ha-Qatan* the *teli* is sometimes the *axis mundi*, a "weaver's beam" as it is called there, round which the heavenly bodies revolve, sometimes the dragon which causes the eclipses and whose head and tail (just as with the Byzantines and the Arabs) bring good or evil.² But although in the *Hakhmoni* Donnolo describes the *teli* in both these capacities, it is precisely in the *Sefer Mazzaloth*, his commentary on the *Baraita*, that he unmistakably sees it as the *axis mundi* only.³ Now, so far as I know, the Arabs never thought of the *axis mundi* as a dragon, but there are Byzantine astrological texts which do so. Moreover, their description of it has some similarities with that in the *Sefer Mazzaloth*. Firstly, in that guise, in contrast to an imaginary line round which the heavenly bodies revolve, this dragon is for the Byzantines (as for Donnolo) an active force which itself revolves them. Secondly (and the possible explanations do not concern us here) the Byzantine dragon, when an *axis mundi*, is said to lie in the firmament from east to west just as does Donnolo's *teli*, not only in the *Sefer Mazzaloth* but also in a passage of the *Hakhmoni* where the context again refers unmistakably to the *axis mundi*.⁴ Finally, Donnolo, in the *Sefer Mazzaloth*, gives this dragon a head and tail – not to suggest the lunar nodes, but to stress a physical identity with the primordial serpent of the *Isaiah* and *Job*. The head and tail have hidden powers, he says, the knowledge of which "has been lost to Israel because of the Exile". Somewhat similarly, in the Byzantine texts this dragon is said to be a kind of divine emanation in the physical form of a serpent produced in the days of the creation, to set and keep the stars in their courses. One text speaks of it as, under God, all-seeing and all efficacious.⁵ The gnostic character of these ideas need not exclude them from the generality of Byzantine astrology. Indeed, they were quite common there, constituting a tendency which was not strange to the neoplatonist elements in Byzantine culture.

¹ See e.g. al-Biruni, *Kitab al-tafhim li-awa'il sina'at al-tanjim*, 383–384, ed. and trans. R. R. WRIGHT, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, pp. 233–234; *De Capite ac cauda draconis*, ed. A. DELATTE, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, x, p. 71.

² EISENSTEIN, *op. cit.* (see p. 10, n. 1), p. 542.

³ LUZZATTO (*op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 4), p. 62.

⁴ CASTELLI (*op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 3), Hebrew text, pp. 79 f.; cf. e.g. C.C.A.G. (*supra*, h.1), v, part 2, p. 134.

⁵ Origen, *Contra Haereses* IV, 47 (PGL 16, part 3, cols. 3111B–C; 3115C).

Whatever value be placed on this similarity between Donnolo and the Byzantines in the ideas of a celestial dragon, there is another consideration which makes Byzantine influence on him likely. The *Sefer Mazgaloth* and the astrological sections of the *Hakhmoni* are in themselves evidence of cultural assimilation. Astrologers distinguished between what they called "natural" astrology – descriptions of the heavenly bodies in their orbits, i.e. astronomy: and "judicial" astrology – the application of these descriptions to the judging of the effect of a particular state of the heavens on human affairs. But the chief purpose of the first was to make possible the practice of the second. That is why astronomy and astrology could be virtually interchangeable terms. This was not so for the Jews, for whom the distinction was quite clear. The study of natural astrology was not only permissible but mandatory, since it was required for the fixing of the liturgical calendar. But judicial astrology, astrology in the usual sense, was another matter. Belief in it cast doubt on God's providence as on man's free will, and it remained a subject of controversy for many centuries. The talmudic dictum¹ *'eyn mazgal le-yisra'el* – "Israel has no [protective] constellation" – was contradicted in the very passage where it appears by examples of pious rabbis who had firmly believed in the fortunes of the stars, and was never either wholly accepted or wholly rejected. Probably the consensus of opinion was that, while the stars did affect the Jews just as they did other people yet, in the words of the Ashkenazi New Year liturgy, "prayer, penitence and good deeds could avert the evil decree". Astrological predictions were valid but, for the Jews, needed to be not more than a divine warning,¹ and this was Donnolo's own opinion.² Maimonides was in very much of a minority when he dismissed the whole business of astrology as so much foolishness.³ Yet, despite this consensus, and despite the astrological beliefs of such figures as Abraham bar Hiyya, ibn Daud, or Abraham ben Ezra, astrology never became, so to speak, a "Jewish" science. There certainly were Jewish astrologers, or astrologers of Jewish origin, at the courts of the caliphs of Baghdad, because astrology was as much a part of 'Abbasid civilisa-

¹ See e.g. T.B. *Shabbath*, 156a-b; cf. A. MARX, *Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology*, New York (1926), p. 17 and note 20.

² CASTELLI (see p. 1, n. 3), Hebrew text, pp. 33-34.

³ MARX, pp. 45-48.

tion as was medicine. Indeed, a doctor then (and for centuries after) had to know something about *melothesia*: the time that a drug was taken, in relation to the position of the planet ruling the organ for which it was meant, was as important as its ingredients. But, apart from the works of Masha'allah in the eighth century and the texts discussed here, serious Jewish astrology is virtually non-existent during the early middle ages. Even though the astrological sections of the *Hakbmoni* are themselves partly a commentary on the planetary and zodiacal *melothesia* in the *Sefer Yesirah*, that work itself, however else it may be classified, can scarcely be described as a work of astrology.

In one respect, the position of astrology in Byzantium was similar. Many of the church fathers had attacked it for much the same reasons as had many of the rabbis. Astrology might have been valid for pagans, but for Christians it was invalid. From the end of the sixth century to the end of the eighth its practice was officially forbidden.¹ Similarly, there were always those who disagreed: Although the stars did not rule a Christian's destiny, their message might point to his moral state and to his relation with the divinity.² On the other hand, despite the polemics and the prohibition, astrological studies in Byzantium never died. They remained part and parcel of the Byzantine heritage. Just as there were always Byzantine scholars who copied and annotated the literary or historical texts of classical or hellenistic Greece, so there were those who, from Rhetorius in the fifth century to Symeon Seth in the eleventh, paraphrased the astrological poems of Manilius or wrote variations on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* and the *Anthologia* of the astrologer Vettius Valens. The quantity of Byzantine astrological manuscripts is very large. Their editing and publication began towards the end of the last century and is far from completion. At present they run to some twelve volumes.³ It is this never ceasing activity which is the non-Jewish context of Donnolo's astrological writings, and it is difficult to see them but in that context – as the work of a Byzantine Jew who had assimilated something of this element in Byzantine civilisation, as he had assimilated others.

¹ See F. CUMONT, "Astrologues romains et byzantins", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 37 (1918-1919), pp. 53-54.

² See A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERQ, *L'astrologie grec*, Paris (1899), pp. 614-622.

³ This is the collection, edited by BELL, CUMONT, DELATTE and others, entitled *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* (see *supra*, p. 11, note 1), and published at Brussels between 1898 and 1953.

The same kind of assimilation can be inferred from Donnolo's cosmology. An important element in it is the idea of man as a microcosm. Of course, this idea was not peculiar to Donnolo but was a common one in classical and Christian as in Jewish thought. It was expressed in two ways. It could appear as the assertion of a parallel between a particular and a general active principle operating in the universe. Thus, with the stoics, where that principle was reason, man's rationality was said to be the reflection, on a small scale, of an universal rationality.¹ For the neoplatonists, the individual soul reflected the world soul.² For the church fathers, the harmony supposedly brought by Jesus to mankind reflected the wider harmony brought by him to the universe.³ In Jewish thought, this kind of microcosmic analogy appears, for example, in Sa'adiah's idea of the operation of human intelligence in man as the reflection in miniature of the operation of God's intelligence in the whole world.⁴ The second type of microcosmic analogy was by means of specific comparisons, usually to illustrate the general principle, between functions or parts of the human body and macrocosmic processes or phenomena. Thus, an early Greek text compared the blood flowing in the veins to water flowing in the rivers.⁵ In the fifth century Ambrose of Milan compared the hair of the head to the leaves of a tree.⁶ This second kind of analogy, however, is hardly to be found, in its true form, in Jewish thought before ibn-Şaddiq's *Sefer ha-'Olam ha-Qaṭan*, some two hundred years after Donnolo. There are earlier examples of physical comparison in the 'Avoth de-R. Nathan and in a midrash published by Jellinek, the 'Iggereth ha-'Olam ha-Qaṭan: but the form there is quite different. Comparisons are generally either allegorical – man's tongue is like the sea, since we stand in awe of both, or (perhaps intentionally) ironical – the stomach is like the desert because both are empty; or not to the macrocosm at all – doors in man, doors in the world, man's doors being his teeth.⁷

¹ See e.g. Cicero, *De natura deorum* II.14.37, ed. F. W. MÜLLER, Leipzig (1883), p. 59.

² See e.g. Plotinus, *Enneades* II.3.7, ed. R. VOLKAM, Leipzig (1883), pp. 139-140.

³ See e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad gentes* I (PGL 8, col. 60A).

⁴ *Tafsir kitab al-mabadi'*, ed. and trans. M. LAMBERT, *Commentaire sur le Séfer Yeşira ou Livre de la Création par le Gaon Saadya, Gaon de Fayoum*, Paris (1891), text, p. 91; trans. pp. 67-69.

⁵ Quoted by T. GOMPERZ, *Greek Thinkers*, I, London (1901), pp. 294-295.

⁶ *Hexameron* VI.9, 55-56 (PL 14, cols. 265B-266A).

⁷ See 'Iggereth 'Olam Qaṭan, ed. A. JELLINEK, *Bet Ha-Midrash*, v, Leipzig (1873), pp. 58, 59; 'Avoth de-R. Nathan, ed. S. SCHECHTER, Vienna (1887), Version A, Chapter 31, p. 92.

Donnolo, before approaching the mysteries of creation in the *Sefer Yesirah*, uses the idea of the microcosm in his attempt at understanding the mystery of man created in God's image. For this he needed both ways of expressing the microcosmic analogy. He uses the idea of parallel active principles operating in man and the universe much as does Sa'adiah, by supposing that man's mental powers are a miniature reflection of divine power – man's real, but limited, knowledge, for example, is a reflection of God's omniscience. And from this he draws his conclusion that the creation of man in God's image and in His likeness does not mean the creation of a replica, but of a creature capable of real, though limited, comparisons to his creator.¹ He requires the second way of expressing the microcosmic analogy in order to show how man's body is, again, not a replica, but similarly comparable to the rest of God's creation, the material universe. To show this, Donnolo compares bodily organs and functions to macrocosmic processes and phenomena. His comparisons are wholly physical and very vivid. Here are two examples:

“Just as God made beneath the earth the deeps, mire and mud, so he made in man the upper bowel and the intestines which receive food and drink. Now, just as the waters from the mire and mud swarm with insects and reptiles, so do man's intestines swarm with the foul sediment of his food and drink. They swarm and teem with worms – long worms, short worms, worms great and small, thick and thin, worms in large pellets, worms like white hairs.”

“Just as on earth the forest teems with animals and with creeping things, so does the hair of the head, or the beard and the flesh of the body teem with lice great and small, and with their eggs.”²

It may be that Donnolo added these details – not strictly necessary for his analogy – because he was a doctor. Indeed, these particulars, and many others like them, tempt the supposition that Donnolo took the opportunity to teach a little anatomy or pathology. In any event, such details remove his comparisons very far from those of the *'Avoth de-R. Nathan* or of the two *midrashim*, and place them much closer to those used in classical and post-classical microcosmic analogy.

Some of Donnolo's physical comparisons may also be more

¹ CASTELLI (*op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 3), Hebrew text, p. 16.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21; p. 23.

particularly in the Byzantine tradition. The idea of the microcosm had an obvious association with astrology. If man was the universe in miniature, then events concerning the former were likely to be influenced by events in the latter. The converse association was then equally valid: belief in astrology suggested analogies between bodily organs and heavenly bodies in the form of acceptable physical comparisons, comparisons which, in their turn, were used to sustain more specifically the claims of astrologers. This kind of comparisons occurs in Jewish sources also, but once again by way of metaphor or allegory. Thus, in the *Pesiqta Rabbathi*, man is compared to the constellation Cancer because, like a crab, he scrabbles his possessions together out of holes and cracks, or to Libra because man's deeds will be weighed in the balance.¹ In the *Sefer Yesirah* there are such comparisons, and there they are quite arbitrary, with no explanation.² But Donnolo's comparisons, granted this mode of thought, are once again physically reasonable. For example, in his explanation of men made in God's image, he compares man's spine to the *teli*, while man's limbs are like the constellations attached to it and moved by it.³ Now lists of such comparisons – as distinct from melothetic lists – cannot be common in Arab astrology. A few occur in a long microcosmic analogy which is part of a tractate ascribed to the *Ikhwan-as-Şafah* – the Brothers of Purity, or Sincerity – a tenth-century mystical and political sect.⁴ But al-Biruni knows nothing of such comparisons. On the other hand, Byzantine astrological texts often express this relation between the stars and man together with the purely melothetic one. Again, which organ is compared to which star is not important in this context. However, in a striking example by Olympiodorus of Alexandria, dating from the fifth century but frequently recopied, there are specific comparisons that are identical with those of Donnolo.⁵

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that important elements in

¹ *Pesiqta Rabbathi*, ed. M. FRIEDMANN, Vienna (1880), f. 95b; trans. W. G. BRAUDE, New York (1968), i, p. 401.

² *Sefer Yesirah*, ch. 4, ed. J. D. EISENSTEIN, 'Oşar Midrashim, New York (1915), pp. 241–242.

³ CASTELLI (see p. 1, n. 3), Hebrew text, p. 23.

⁴ For recent accounts of the *Ikhwan as-şafa*, see S. H. NASR, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, Cambridge, Mass. (1964), pp. 25–104, and S. M. STERN's article in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi) iii, 4 (1964), pp. 405–428.

⁵ *Olympiadori philosophi Alexandrini de arte sacra*, ed. B. BERTHELOT and C. E. RUELLE, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 1, Paris (1888), text, pp. 100–101; cf. CASTELLI (*op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 3), Hebrew text, p. 59.

the medical, astrological and cosmological works of Donnolo were in one respect or another products of the Byzantine civilisation of which he, as a Byzantine Jew, was himself a product. But this conclusion, taken by itself, is likely to be misleading for two reasons. Firstly, Donnolo was exceptional. There is no record of any other Byzantine Jew attaining his level of non-Jewish learning. Secondly, if the non-Jewish elements in his work presuppose, as I think they must, a milieu of cultural assimilation to have made them possible, this presupposition should not, as it might, suggest a lop-sided view of the Byzantine-Jewish situation. If the degree of integration which caused such cultural assimilation was far greater than that likely to obtain in the social isolation of western communities, it was still very limited. The negative aspects of Byzantine legislation, and the inveterate hostility of the ruling institution, were far too obtrusive. We never hear, for example, of Byzantine Jews holding office in the imperial administration as they did in that of the 'Abbasid and Fatimid caliphs, although their employment was prohibited by Muslim law exactly as it was by Byzantine. In the sources directly or indirectly bearing on Byzantine Jews between Justinian and the Fourth Crusade there is only one explicit instance of a Jewish convert to Christianity.¹ In our present context, the difference between Byzantine Jewry and Jews under Islam may well be illustrated by the fact that, however derived, Donnolo's works were written in Hebrew, whereas Sa'adiah's two great works, *viz.* his commentary on the *Sefer Yesirah*, and his *Beliefs and Opinions*, were both written in Arabic.

Perhaps the story of Donnolo and the monk Nilus of Rossano in Calabria is typical of the Byzantine Jewish situation. Nilus, like Donnolo, practised medicine. Although he claimed to cure more by miracles than by drugs, he admired Donnolo's learning and treated him as a colleague, admitting him to the bedside of his most important patient, the local military governor. Indeed, Nilus mentions that Donnolo had been his familiar friend from youth. But there was a reverse side to this picture. When Nilus himself fell ill, he refused to accept Donnolo's prescriptions because their success would dangerously enhance the reputation of Jewish doctors.² And

¹ See SHARF (*op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 2), p. 183.

² *Vita S. Nilii*, PGL 120, cols. 92D-93A, 100A; see STARR, *Byzantine Jewry*, Source No. 107; cf. G. SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, i, Paris (1896), pp. 478-479.

it was the same Nilus who exerted a protracted (and eventually effective) pressure on the authorities not to execute justice when a Jewish merchant was robbed and murdered.¹ It may be objected that this story is no more than a Byzantine version of the anti-semitic's "my best friend is a Jew". It is that as well. But its real significance is that the ambivalent relationship between Donnolo and Nilus can stand for the relationship not only between Jewish and non-Jewish doctors, but also for that between the Jewish and non-Jewish members of a city guild or of a city militia, between the Jewish and non-Jewish members of a city party, or the participants in a commercial enterprise. It can stand for the whole Byzantine-Jewish ambiguity.

¹ PGL 120, col. 72A-D; on the life and character of Nilus, see SCHLUMBERGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-486.

“TLI” AND “JAWZHR” IN THE MACROCOSM OF SHABBETAI DONNOLO

Shabbetai Donnolo (913 — post 982) of Oria may be primarily familiar to Byzantinists as the Jewish doctor whose learning impressed the Calabrian monk Nilus.¹ The best known example of this learning, and that which has earned Donnolo a place in the history of science, is his *Sefer ha-Mirkahot* (“The Book of Mixtures”), sometimes called *Sefer ha-Yakar* (“The Precious Book”). This is a herbal with 118 items. It is the earliest medical text extant from medieval Italy and the earliest in the Hebrew language in Europe.² The names of the drugs in it, and of the diseases they were supposed to remedy, are both of medical and of philosophical interest, and they have been thoroughly discussed.³ One conclusion has been that these names show little evidence of derivations from Arabic. Only three appear to be of clearly Arabic origin, the rest derive from Greek, from Latin, or from the contemporary Italian vernacular.⁴ This proportion is surprising, not only because a south Italian doctor of that period might have been expected *a priori* to show a greater knowledge of Arabic, but also because Donnolo himself, in another work, the *Hakhmoni*, speaks both of the knowledge he gained from the Greeks and the “Macedonians”, that is the Byzantines, and of his long and detailed studies of Arabic writings under an ‘Irāki teacher.⁵ However, it is sometimes forgotten that Donnolo was not only a doctor. Comparatively little attention has been given to two other works which provide examples of technical terms from astronomy, astrology and cosmology. One is the *Hakhmoni* itself — the title is derived from the Hebrew for “wise” — written in the

¹ First noticed by G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, vol. 1, Paris (1896), p. 479, p. 481; see *Nili Junioris vita* VII. 50 = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca-latina* (further cited as MPG — and *series latina* as MPL), vol. 120, cols 92D—93A.

² See H. Friedenwald, *Use of the Hebrew Language in Medical Literature*, “Bulletin of the History of Medicine”, vol. 2, no. 2, April, 1934 = *Idem, The Jews in Medicine*, vol. 1, Baltimore (1944) and New York (1967), pp. 148—52; 171—2.

³ Z. Muntner, *Shabbetai Donnolo*, vol. 1, Jerusalem (1949), pp. 7—23; 47—108 (in Hebrew); for other references, cf. S. Baron, *Social & Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 8, New York (1958), pp. 395—6 (note 31).

⁴ Muntner, vol. 2, p. 28.

⁵ Ed. D. Castelli, *Il Commento di Sabbetai Donnolo sul libro de la creazione*, Florence (1880), text, p. 4; Castelli's text re-printed Warsaw (1884)—Jerusalem (1962), p. 123. For “Macedonian” in the sense of “Byzantine” in Jewish sources, cf. *Megillat Ahima'ats (Sefer Yuha sin)*, ed. A. Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles, Anecdota Oxoniensa, Semitic Series II*, Oxford (1895), pp. 126—7; *Josippon*, ed. H. Hominer, Jerusalem (1967), p. 1.

year 945—6⁶. This is a commentary on the *Sefer Yetsirah* ("Book of Creation"), a mystical work probably of the third century, later to become a source for the Kabbalists.⁷ The other is the *Sefer Mazzalot* ("Book of Constellations") of uncertain date.⁸ This is a commentary on an astronomical *Baraita*, or exposition, ascribed to the Talmudist R. Samuel ha-Ka "tan" but which, in its existing form, cannot have been completed earlier than 776.⁹ An analysis of Donnolo's terminology could throw more light on his knowledge of Arabic and of the Muslim sciences generally, particularly since his Arabic studies were concentrated in this field and, as he says, helped him to write the *Hakhmoni*.¹⁰ Until now, so far as it is known to me, only one example suggesting knowledge has been cited: the Greek and Arabic equivalents of the Hebrew for Orion, Arcturus, and the Pleiades which he proposes, and of which he offers an etymological explanation, in the *Sefer Mazzalot*.¹¹

The example chosen here are Donnolo's comments on the word *Tli*, a word which occurs both in the *Sefer Yetsirah* and in the *Baraita*. In Jewish cosmology, the *Tli* is the dragon. One of two quite distinct kinds of dragon can be intended. Firstly, the *Tli* can be the celestial dragon on which, as in other ancient cosmologies, the universe in one sense or another depends — that is, it can be identified with the *axis mundi*. In Jewish tradition this kind of *Tli* is the *tannin* or leviathan which, according to some post-biblical texts, God created on the fifth day and hung the whole world on its fins.¹² According to others, it is the *nahash bariah*, the swift, or biting, serpent of the prophets with its mystical power. In these texts, the serpent, *nahash*, has a special function, for the word *bariah*, instead of "swift" or "biting", means, it seems, a kind of bar or central girder for the earth.¹³ In rabbinic astronomy, the celestial axis was occasionally called *bariah* instead of the more usual *kotev* (diameter).¹⁴ Secondly, the *Tli* can be the lunar dragon, the dragon whose head and tail symbolise the lunar nodes, the points where the orbit of the moon crosses the ecliptic. The head is the ascending, the tail the descending node, that is, the points where the orbit crosses into the northern skies and the southern skies respectively. With this meaning, the *Tli* becomes the equivalent of the Arabic *Jawzahr*, whose head (*ra's*) and tail (*dhanab*) symbolise the nodes, and so are also the equivalent of the *caput*

⁶ i.e. as stated by Donnolo "in the year 4706 after the creation of the world", Castelli, p. 6 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 124.

⁷ See G. Scholem, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Jerusalem (1971), vol. 16, cols. 782—788.

⁸ Ed. S. D. Luzzato, *Kerem Hemed* 7 (1843), pp. 61—67; ed. Z. Frankel, "Die Kommentar des R Joseph Kara zu Job", *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 6 (1857), pp. 271—3; 7(1858), pp. 260—3; 348—50.

⁹ Ed. J. D. Eisenstein, 'Otsar Midrashim, New York (1915), vol. 2, pp. 542—7 (in Hebrew); on the date, see S. Gandz, *The Astronomy of Maimonides and its Sources*, "Archives Internationales d'histoire et des sciences", 3 (1950), p. 838.

¹⁰ Castelli, p. 5 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 124.

¹¹ See J. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641—1204*, Athens (1939), pp. 158—9; cf. MGWJ 6, p. 271; 7, p. 348.

¹² See *Pirkeh de R. Eliezer*, trans. G. Friedlander, London (1916) and New York (1965), pp. 63—74; *Baraita de Ma'aseh Bereshit*, ed. Eisenstein, vol. 1, p. 253, p. 254.

¹³ See Job, XXVI. 13; Isaiah, XXVII.1; cf. A. Epstein, *Recherches sur le Séfer Yecira*, "Revue des Etudes Juives", 28 (1894), pp. 63—4.

¹⁴ See W. M. Feldman, *Rabbinical Mathematics and Astronomy*, London (1931), p. 66.

and *cauda draconis* of classical and medieval astronomy.¹⁵ Thus Maimonides, in his calculations for the new moon, calls the nodes "the points of the *Tli*", as does the fourteenth century Jewish astronomer Yitshak b. Yosef Israeli.¹⁶

It is relevant to recall how, in all probability, it was the lunar nodes that were associated with the dragon. Whenever a conjunction, or opposition, of the sun with the moon, that is the situation of the sun, the moon, and the earth or the sun, the earth and the moon in one straight line, occurs at or near the nodes, there is respectively a solar or lunar eclipse, since the ecliptic and the lunar orbit are then in the same, or nearly the same plane. This phenomenon became associated with a dragon because of the ancient belief that eclipses were caused by a dragon, or dragon-like monster, swallowing the sun or the moon.¹⁷ However, long after a dragon's head and tail came to be the purely traditional names for the lunar nodes, whose true astronomical function was perfectly well understood, beliefs in that ancient power of the lunar dragon persisted. In the first Christian century, for example, communities were to be found with a custom of blowing on trumpets to scare that dragon away.¹⁸ In the seventh century, the belief was recorded that eclipses were caused by the dragon, normally recumbent, getting up between the nodes so as to obscure either the sun or the moon.¹⁹ Similar ideas persisted among the Jews. A rabbinic text of the ninth century told of how on a certain day "the *Tli* swallowed the moon which straightway disappeared from sight".²⁰ The revolution of the nodes themselves round the ecliptic (approximately once every 18 1/2 years) with its effect on the periodicity of eclipses was sometimes thought of as the lunar dragon destroying as it swung round, by its head or by its tail, the sun or the moon in its path, and leaving a newly created one behind it.²¹

The persistence of such ideas suggests that the functions of the lunar and of the celestial dragons, although distinct, flowed from a common idea that there existed a cosmological entity of decisive powers which, to the human understanding, was in the likeness of a dragon.

This idea is expressed in the *Sefer Yetsirah*. The universe is ruled by the *Tli*, the Sphere and the Soul (in some texts, the Heart).²² But the greatest of the three is the *Tli*:

"The Sphere is in the year like a king in his province; the Heart is in the body like a king in war; the *Tli* is in the World like a king on his throne".²³

¹⁵ See W. Hartner, "al-Djawzahar", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 2, Leyden (1965), cols 501-2.

¹⁶ Feldman, pp. 120-1.

¹⁷ See W. Hartner, *The Pseudoplanetary Nodes of the Moon's Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies*, "Ars Islamica", 5 (1938), p. 131.

¹⁸ See A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grec*, Paris (1899), p. 123 (note 2).

¹⁹ See F. N. Nau, *Notes d'astronomie syrienne*, "Journal Asiatique", 10-ième série, 16(1910), p. 222.

²⁰ *Seder Tannaim ve Amoraim*, ed. S. D. Luzzato, *Kerem Hemed* 4 (1839), p. 187 (i.n. Hefrew).

²¹ Feldman, p. 121.

²² *Sefer Yetsirah* VI. 1 (= Warsaw-Jerusalem, p. 117).

²³ *Ibid* VI. 2 (= Warsaw-Jerusalem, p. 118).

An explanation of these definitions could be that the *Tli* is likened to the king enthroned in its relation to the celestial sphere whose turning governs the divisions ("provinces") of time, and in its relation to the heart of man which is like a king in war because it rules over the battle between good and evil. But, however enigmatic, these definitions do suggest that somehow the *Tli* has power over both the physical and the moral principle of the universe. The *Baraita* of R. Samuel, despite its primarily astronomical content, expresses a similar idea but in a way which leads to an interesting contradiction: It describes an all-powerful *Tli* with both celestial and lunar characteristics. In its guise of celestial dragon, the *Tli* is the *nahash bariah*. The *Baraita* makes it central to the whole universe, not only to the earth. It is a "lever" or "weaver's beam" for the luminaries, the planets and the constellations of the zodiac.²⁴ It also turns the celestial sphere and produces the days, the nights and the seasons of the year. Thus it governs all the heavenly bodies:

"The *Tli* is the king and the constellations are his garments, while the Wain is his guide".²⁵

It may be concluded that, in spite of confusion between diurnal rotation and annual orbit, the *Tli* is here the celestial axis, the line joining the two celestial poles, a conclusion supported by the idea of the Wain as its guide. But the *Tli* partakes of the mystical qualities ascribed to the *nahash bariah*, as well as fulfilling its cosmological function of central girder, bar or beam. The head of the *Tli* brings good, the tail brings evil into the world.²⁶ It is this power which is associated by the *Baraita* with the *Tli* in its second meaning — in its meaning of a lunar dragon. For it immediately adds that the *Tli*, by its head or by its tail, brings about the eclipse of the sun or of the moon:

"Let the luminaries and the *Tli* meet one with another, if they meet so that there is no space between them, whether it is one of the luminaries that meets the head of the *Tli* and one the tail, or whether the two are at the head or the two are at the tail, the sun or the moon will grow dark, for one of the luminaries and one of the planets have taken their light".²⁷

If consideration of "one of the planets" be for the moment omitted, there is here simply an explanation of eclipses as caused by a conjunction or an opposition at one of the nodes, an explanation which unequivocally identifies the *Tli* with the lunar, and not with the celestial dragon. Thus the *Baraita* gives the *Tli* its physical and moral sovereignty in the universe by means of two irreconcilable functions. It is not simply because of the general idea of an all-powerful dragon that the *Tli*, so clearly shown to be the *axis mundi*, is at the same time shown to be the cause of eclipses. It is

²⁴ Eisenstein, vol. 2, p. 542, line 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, line 19. In the text the constellations are the king's "*sedinim*" — sheets, cloths. S. Geffen, "Tli", *A. Z. Rabinovitch Jubilee Volume*, Tel-Aviv (1924), p. 127 (in Hebrew) would emend to '*avadim* = slaves, or *shamashim* = servants. But "garments" are a reasonable poetic periphrasis of the meaning of the original, and equally add to the king's glory.

²⁶ Eisenstein, vol. 2, p. 542, lines 37–8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 38–45.

because the *Tli* is supposed to rule the moral order in a particular way — that is, by means of its head and tail bringing good and evil to the world. It is this idea which causes the contradiction, since it is with the lunar, not the celestial dragon, that the idea of a head and a tail in their meaning of the nodes is traditionally associated. But why should this moral power, which in the *Sefer Yetsirah* is only claimed in general terms, be in the *Baraita* particularly associated with the head and the tail of the *Tli*? It is reasonable to look for the answer in some astrological idea of the nodes, as distinct from their astronomical function, since it is astrology which ascribes to astronomical phenomena influences for good or evil.

Such an idea appears in the *Sefer Mazzalot*. There, the *Tli* is primarily the celestial dragon, the *axis mundi*.²⁸ Donnolo says nothing of its other meaning with the exception of one passage: in referring to the head and tail of the *Tli*, the *Baraita* quotes, without any explanation, from the Book of Isaiah: "Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail".²⁹

"This passage is to teach you", says Donnolo, "that, because of the Exile, the wisdom of the head of the dragon and of its tail is lost to Israel, as is that of the constellations which are in the vault of the firmament and whose motive power comes from the Wain".³⁰

That Israel did not know something about the head and tail of the dragon to do with the constellations, that is with the zodiac, could conceivably refer to the fact that the *Baraita* does not mention the cycle of the lunar nodes through the ecliptic. But the natural meaning of wisdom in the context of the zodiac is astrological wisdom. And it is true that, while astrological beliefs were no less widespread among the Jews than among other people, serious astrological enquiry was very much discouraged at least from the time of the Babylonian Talmud to the time of Maimonides.³¹ Astrology was never a "Jewish" science, and the amount of astrological material in Hebrew is comparatively very small.³² On the other hand, Donnolo himself, although he had his reservations, was something of an expert. Another passage in the *Sefer Yetsirah* gave him an opportunity for a disquisition on the planets in their influence on the days of the week which earned him the praise of the great French Talmudist "Rashi" (R. Solomon Yitshaki, 1040—1105) — and this in spite of the fact that Donnolo rejects the system in the *Sefer*, that is "the wisdom of Israel", in favour of what seems to have been the system accepted by Greece and Rome.³³ If, then, it is astrological wisdom that Israel has lost, the sense of

²⁸ Luzzato, p. 62, lines 4—6.

²⁹ Eisenstein, vo. 2, p. 542, line 25; Isaiah, IX. 14.

³⁰ Luzzato, p. 62, lines 9—11.

³¹ See A. Marx, *The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology*, New York (1926), pp. 7—8; p. 17 (and note 20).

³² Muntner, vol. 2, pp. 107—108.

³³ *Sefer Yetsirah* IV.5 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 101; *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, pp. 59—61; 71—72 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 140; p. 143; Rashi to *Erubin* 56A; see S. Gandz, "The Origin of the Planetary Week, or the Planetary Week in Hebrew Literature", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 18 (1948—9), p. 240; p. 244; pp. 246—7; S. H. Colson, *The Week: An Essay on the Origin and Development of the Seven Day Cycle*, Cambridge (1926), pp. 43—5; pp. 123—4.

his comment in the *Sefer less Mazzalot* demands that the secret of the dragon must also be sought there. The way in which its head and tail bring good and evil ought to be similar to the way in which good and evil are foretold, or brought about, by the stars and the planets. Thus, when Donnolo adds to the celestial dragon the idea of a dragon whose power for good and evil is in its head and tail, he does so in order to hint at the astrological aspect of that power.

This hint is developed in the *Hakhmoni* in the context of the same, but noticeably emphasised, contradiction. Donnolo begins his comments on the *Tli* in the *Sefer Yetsirah* by giving it the characteristics of the celestial dragon, but a dragon of greater importance to the cosmos than in the *Baraita* or in the *Sefer Mazzalot*. He describes in detail how the luminaries, the planets and the stars are turned by its rotation. He then adds how the *Tli* causes variations in the velocities of these bodies, at times even causing them to halt or to reverse their motion. In other words, Donnolo tries to make of his *Tli* an *axis mundi* capable of causing on its own all the complex phenomena responsible for the forty epicycles and excentrics of the ruling Ptolemaic system — not to speak of the eight extra orbits to be introduced five hundred years later by Copernicus. Immediately after this description, comes the reference to the *Tli's* power for good or evil which, even more definitely than in the *Baraita*, is in its capacity of lunar dragon. It not only darkens the sun and the moon but also passes during a fixed period from constellation to constellation "in a reverse direction", as Donnolo puts it, "with its head following its tail", obviously meaning the movement of the lunar nodes, which is opposite to that of the yearly revolution through the ecliptic of the sun, the moon and the planets. But, in this description, the *Tli* has two further characteristics: firstly, it influences those "born in it", secondly, during its passage through the constellations, it has a "high point" (*Govah*) and a "low point" (*Shfelut*)³⁴. It seems that Donnolo adds to the *Tli* here an unmistakable astrological meaning. Those "born in it" must mean those born under that sign of the zodiac through which one of the lunar nodes is passing. *Govah* and *Shfelut* must therefore be the equivalent here of ὑψωμα and ταπεινωμα, the astrologer's "exaltations" and "dejections", that is the points in the zodiacal circle at which the planets exercise respectively their strongest and their weakest influence. The exaltation of Venus, for example, is in the 27th degree of Pisces, its dejection is at the opposite point — in the 27th degree of Virgo. That Donnolo gives his *Tli*, in its lunar capacity, exaltations and dejections is readily explicable. When the movement of the lunar nodes, with their comparatively short and observable cycle, became known, there was an early tendency to think of them, in this respect, as planets³⁵. Long before Donnolo's day, the exaltation of the head of the dragon had been allotted to the 3rd degree of Gemini and, thus, of the tail to the 3rd degree of Sagittarius. Their dejections, of course, occupied the same points in reverse.

The exaltations and dejections of the lunar nodes, although here mentioned by him with no special emphasis, are important for Donnolo.

³⁴ *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, pp. 79—80 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 146.

³⁵ See Hartner, *Ars Islamica*, pp. 132—3.

The idea of the *Tli* as responsible for the good and evil in the world, not merely in the general sense implied by the *Sefer Yetsirah*, not even more particularly through its head and tail as in the *Baraita*, but specifically through the exaltations and dejections of its head and tail, plays a necessary part in the first, or introductory, section of the *Hakhmoni*. Here, before proceeding to the main commentary, Donnolo discusses the creation and nature of man by a commentary on the verse in the Book of Genesis, "Let us make man in our own image and after our own likeness"³⁶. Just as man's actions, he explains, inspired by his soul, are comparable, though in a limited and lesser sense, to God's actions, so does man's physical structure reflect in miniature the physical elements of the universe. This second analogy, therefore, is the common one of the microcosm and the macrocosm. Donnolo's version is exceptional because of his insistence, for the sufficient reason that he was a doctor, on a rigorously physical comparison. Most theories of the microcosm tended to be expressed in abstract terms. Thus, for example, the Stoic tradition might compare the rational in man and the rational in the universe³⁷, the neoplatonist the individual and the world soul³⁸, the Christian the harmony brought by Jesus to the individual and to the world in general³⁹. Donnolo himself adds to his explanation of the *Tli* as the *axis mundi* in the *Sefer Yetsirah* by comparing its rule over the universe to the rule of the heart over the body⁴⁰. However, in this introductory section, he carefully compares with a wealth of anatomical detail, various processes and organs of the body to various phenomena and objects in the macrocosm. This method is, in effect, the way in which the connection between microcosm and macrocosm is used in astrology in order to show the influence of the planets and the constellations on the various organs^{40a}. Here Donnolo uses it to stress the analogy rather than the influence. The digestive process, for example, is compared to the interaction of underground springs and streams. The shoulders, the hips and the ankles to the hills and mountains which were supposed to bind the earth together⁴¹. Finally, the spinal column, to which is joined the principle bone structure, is compared to the *Tli* to which are joined the planets and the constellations. But here again, as in previous examples, this clear implication that the *Tli* is the *axis mundi* is immediately followed by the assertion of its moral powers in a context where it can only be the lunar dragon.

"At the head of the spinal column is the brain, at its tail, the sinews of the sexual organs. Now, just as the head of the *Tli* is beneficent and its tail the cause of evil, so the head of the spinal column causes the good and its tail the evil"⁴².

³⁶ *Genesis* I. 26; for this introductory section see Castelli, pp. 6-30. = Warsaw-Jerusalem, pp. 124-131.

³⁷ E.g. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* II. 37, ed. F. W. Mueller, Leipzig (1878), p. 59.

³⁸ E.g. Plotinus, *Enneades* II.3.7., ed. R. Volkman, Leipzig (1883), pp. 139-40.

³⁹ E.g. St Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad gentes* I = MPG vol. 8, col. 60A.

⁴⁰ *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, p. 83 = Warsaw-Jerusalem, p. 147.

^{40a} See e.g. F. Saxl, *Lectures*, vol. 2, Warburg Institute, London University (1957), illustrations nos. 34a, 35a, 36a, 37c, 38c, 41a & b.

⁴¹ *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, p. 21 = Warsaw-Jerusalem, p. 128.

⁴² *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, pp. 23-4 = Warsaw-Jerusalem, p. 129.

This analogy cannot fit the *Tli* as *axis mundi*. There is no reason why the south celestial pole should symbolise evil. On the contrary, according to Donnolo, as will be seen, it is from the south that good comes to the world, while evil comes from the north. The analogy much better fits the lunar dragon if its exaltations and dejections are remembered. The exaltation of the tail is in Sagittarius, and precisely this zodiacal sign is associated by astrologers with the sexual impulse or with the sexual organs. The bow of the archer becomes Cupid's bow.⁴³ Sometimes Sagittarius is depicted as a centaur, explicitly identified as a male sexual symbol.⁴⁴ In some astrological charts it is noted that *Sagittarius dominatur pudenda*.⁴⁵ The zodiacal analogy with the exaltation of the head of the dragon is less definite. Gemini has no significance in this context. However, the exact position in the segment is very close to Taurus, which is often associated with richness and happiness.⁴⁶ Thus, for Donnolo, an important moral principle — the conflict between man's animal nature and his rational faculty — probably depends in his macrocosmic analogy on the exaltations and dejections of the lunar nodes.

Now, astrologers had their reservations and, in practice, tended to distinguish between the nodes and the planets. Clear references to the nodes as bringers of good or bad, in the same way as the real planets were supposed to be in their relations with the zodiacal signs, are not common, and the sources on which Donnolo bases his analogy are not immediately obvious. The outstanding example of a distinction between nodes and planets in this respect is in the *Baraita* itself. On the one hand, the nodes are given their correct exaltations and dejections, while their likening to planets may also be expressed in the idea noticed earlier that a luminary is eclipsed when the other luminary "and one of the planets has taken its light".⁴⁷ On the other hand, the nodes are omitted from a list of the planets where their exaltations and dejections are linked to their traditional astrological influences.⁴⁸ This omission may be the immediate reason why Donnolo says that the wisdom of the head of the dragon and of its tail is lost to Israel.

Where amongst the nations did he find what was missing? In late Roman and in Byzantine astrology before Donnolo, the lunar nodes are occasionally more definitely associated with the planets than they are in the *Baraita*. Thus, Tertullian speaks of the ascending node "or some malignant stars".⁴⁹ The ascending node is included in a horoscope by Proclus.⁵⁰ It is also included in a *καταρχή*, or general state of the heavens,

⁴³ Bouché, p. 319 (note 3).

⁴⁴ *M. Manilii astronomica* II. 463; ed. J. Wagneningen, Leipzig (1915), p. 53; cf. Saxl, no. 39a.

⁴⁵ See the example in C. Singer, *From Magic to Science*, New York (1928 & 1958), p. 64 (= Saxl, no. 35a).

⁴⁶ E.G.: — Taurus and Libra are the signs of extreme fertility, δύο ζῳδια γονιμώτατα, — Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* I. 17 = Robbins, p. 81;

cf. L. D. Broughton, *The Elements of Astrology*, New York (1898), p. 90.

⁴⁷ Eisenstein, vol. 2, p. 546, lines 41–44; p. 542, line 45.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 546, line 47 — p. 547, line 17.

⁴⁹ "Fortasse enim anabibazon ei obstabat, aut aliquae maleficae" (sc. stellae), *Tertulliani adversus Marcionem libri quinque* I. 8 (= MPL vol. 2, col. 266B).

⁵⁰ See Bouché, p. 509, note 1.

calculated on the occasion of the appointment of a new prefect of Egypt by the emperor Zeno (where it is shown in dejection). Both nodes appear in another *καταρχή* for the revolt of Leontius against the same emperor, where the ascending node is in Cancer, the descending in Capricorn, and in a horoscope for the Muslims cast for the year of the Hegirā, where the ascending node is in Aquarius, the descending in Leo. But, both in the *καταρχαῖ* and in the horoscopes, the nodes make a somewhat formal appearance even, according to Neugebauer, being incorrectly positioned. Anyhow, they are allotted no specific astrological meaning — as are other planets shown in their respective zodiacal houses.⁵¹

However, it seems that the exaltations and the dejections of the lunar dragon were much more seriously taken by Muslim astrologers. The *jawzahr* had a more definite part to play than had the *Tli* or the *caput ac cauda draconis*.⁵² Already in the middle of the seventh century, the monophysite bishop Severus Sēbōkht, philosopher, mathematician, and a transmitter of classical cosmological ideas to the Muslims,⁵³ bore witness to this development. He found it necessary to write a polemic against it as current in his part of the world — Ken-neshrē on the Upper Euphrates. First, he struck at the root of the matter: The eclipses were capable of a perfectly natural explanation. The lunar dragon was a fable altogether, which had arisen because the displacement of the nodes had not been properly understood.⁵⁴ It was therefore absurd to believe that the dragon dispensed fortunes and determined horoscopes, for the simple reason that no dragon existed. It was not the dragon, he went on rather oddly, but the nodes themselves that did this, that is, if anything did. It was the ascending node and the descending node which could determine horoscopes according to where they were in the signs of the zodiac — exactly as the seven planets could.⁵⁵ In demythologising the dragon, Sēbōkht actually emphasised the astrological power of the astronomical phenomena it symbolised. In any event, whatever the ambiguities of his explanation, the power of the nodes had, by the middle of the ninth century, become established doctrine. Hartner's brilliant analysis of *Jawzahr* iconography leaves little doubt of a full planetary status for the nodes in some schools of Muslim astrology. One of the best known of all Muslim astrologers, Abu Ma'shar (died 886), who had an extraordinary reputation in the west,⁵⁶ devoted a whole chapter in a work on planetary conjunctions to the planetary influence of the *ra's* and *dhanab* of the *jawzahr*. The picture of a dragon twisted round the nodes in a fifteenth century edition of this work may well have appeared in an early manuscript.⁵⁷ On one of the pillars of the Tigris bridge of Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, a late twelfth century relief, drawing upon an established iconographic

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371; pp. 513-4; 514-5; for the possibility that the position of the nodes in the Muslim horoscope should be reversed, see O. Neugebauer & H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia (1959), p. 159, note 11; and cf. p. 147, note 10; p. 149.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵³ See G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* vol. 1, Baltimore (1927), p. 488 p. 493.

⁵⁴ Nau, p. 221.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁵⁶ P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 9th edition, London & New York (1968), p. 378.

⁵⁷ Hartner, *Ars Islamica*, pp. 133-4.

tradition, shows the *dhanab* together with its sign of exaltation, Sagittarius.⁵⁸ A Turkish work on Muslim astrology includes seven pair of symbols showing the exaltations and dejections of each planet and an eighth pair showing the exaltation and dejection of the *Jawzahr* in a way in which all eight clearly belong to the same series.⁵⁹ And, according to Donnolo himself, it was his 'Irāki teacher who "told him of things that had been and were to be, by virtue of his calculation of the *Tli*, the stars and the constellations".⁶⁰

There are, therefore, *a priori* reasons to suppose that Donnolo took the astrological character of his *Tli* from a particular Muslim idea of the *Jawzahr*. These reasons can be supported by two further circumstances. Firstly, it is significant that Jewish scholars living in the Muslim milieu primarily took the *Tli* of the *Sefer Yetsirah* to be the lunar dragon, although there is nothing to suggest it in the passage quoted. Thus, Sa'adiah Gaon, the head of the Talmudic Academy at Sūra 928—930; 936—942, identifies the *Tli* with the *Jawzahr* and with no other sort of dragon.⁶¹ So does the Jewish astronomer Dunash b. Tamīm, a native of Kayrawān, in a commentary completed about the year 956.⁶² Yehudah b. Barzillai of Barcelona, in a commentary at the beginning of the twelfth century, also explains it first as the *Jawzahr*, and only afterwards adds to it characteristics similar to those by which Donnolo makes his *Tli* the *axis mundi*.⁶³ The Hebrew Spanish poet and philosopher Yehudah ha-Levi (c. 1075—1141) says in his *al-Khazari* that the dragon is the *Jawzahr* "because hidden things which cannot be perceived by the senses are called 'dragon'".⁶⁴ The dragon mysteries, whether in the *Sefer Yetsirah* or elsewhere, were specifically associated with the lunar version of the dragon perhaps because its astrological powers were known even if not explicitly stated. Secondly, the nearest to such an explicit statement in Jewish sources apart from Donnolo known to me, is by Maimonides, again, of course, a scholar with a Muslim cultural background. It is written in the *Mishnah* (the legal codification which is the basis of the Talmud) that a vessel with a picture of the sun, of the moon or of a dragon must be got rid of.⁶⁵ Regarding the dragon, the usual explanation is that it is because it was a common device on the standards of Roman legions.⁶⁶ But Maimonides says it is because "the dragon is the orbit of the moon which is the *Jawzahr*, and which can exercise its influence in one way or in another way". The picture of the dragon is forbidden because it is a

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114; cf. bottom right-hand photograph, facing p. 122.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 134—5.

⁶⁰ *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, p. 5 = Warsaw/Jerusalem, p. 124.

⁶¹ Sa'adiah Gaon, *Tafsir kitabi — 'l — Mabāda*, ed. & trans. M. Lambert, *Commentaire sur le Séfer Yectra ou Livre de la Création par le Gaon Saadya*, Paris (1891), text, p. 31; trans. p. 52.

⁶² Dunash b. Tamīm, *Sefer Yetsirah*, ed. M. Grossberg, London (1902), p. 69 (in Hebrew); cf. Starr, p. 155.

⁶³ See A. E. Harkavy, "Tli—Atali", *Ben Ami*, St. Petersburg (1887), p. 30 (in Hebrew).

⁶⁴ *Kitāb al-Khazari* IV. 25; trans. H. Hirschfeld, New York (1927), p. 253 (*jawzahr*, not very happily, as "moon sphere").

⁶⁵ *Mishnah 'Avodah Zarah*, III. 3.

⁶⁶ See I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nēzikin, 'Avodah Zarah* 42B, London (1935), p. 211, note 4.

tilasm, i.e. a τέλεσμα, in other words a talisman, like that allotted to each planet such as "a black old man to Saturn". This *tilasm*, he explains, is a drawing or sculpture which its beholders endow with lucky or unlucky powers because of the planet which it represents.⁶⁷

Finally, it may be that Donnolo introduces into his concept of the *Tli* as *Jawzahr* another piece of Muslim cosmology. In the *Hakhmoni* the *Tli* is said to be stretched in the firmament "from East to West". This orientation cannot refer to the *axis mundi* which joins the two celestial poles. But neither can it be easily reconciled with the lunar dragon. The line joining the nodes passes through the centre of the earth, just as does the *axis mundi*,—though on a different (and variable) bearing. For Donnolo's latitudes, as for our own, only the ascending node can be thought of as "in the firmament" and, in practice, only the ascending node was normally used in calculation by medieval astronomers.⁶⁸ However, if it be supposed that Donnolo, at this point, was not concerned with making his macrocosmic analogy fit astronomic practice, there remains a contradiction which he himself introduces. The unpleasant phenomena of the macrocosm originate according to him, as has been noted, in the north. The north is the evil quarter, the south is beneficent. This was a traditional idea in Jewish cosmology, based upon a passage in the Book of Jeremiah, which was repeated in rabbinic texts close to Donnolo's day.⁶⁹ Donnolo uses this idea to continue his analogy. Unpleasant phenomena in the universe are comparable to unpleasant phenomena in the human body. He equates north with left and south with right, direction equivalents for which there was also some traditional support,⁷⁰ and asserts that it is indeed by organs on the left side of the body that two malignant humours are produced, by organs on the right side two benignant.⁷¹ The oddity of this theory of pathology, as its irreconcilability with Galenic medicine, where the excess of any of the four humours is the cause of disease, does not matter here. What matters is its contradiction with what immediately follows. For, when he brings the *Tli* into the analogy, good and evil must come from the east and west respectively (it is not wholly clear which) since the "good head" and the "evil tail" of the human spine are compared to the "good head" and the "evil tail" of the *Tli*—which is stretched from east to west in the firmament.

Why should Donnolo introduce this orientation (and repeat it in his comment on the *Tli* in the *Sefer Yetsirah*) when it contradicts both astronomy and his own theory of pathology? ⁷² It is reasonable to assume

⁶⁷ R. Moshe b. Maimon, *Mishnah with Commentary*, ed. R. Kāpaḥ, Jerusalem (1964), pp. 350—351 (in Hebrew); for the *tilasm* of Saturn, see Saxl, no. 43a.

⁶⁸ See e.g. D.J. Price, *The Equatorie of the Planetis*, Cambridge (1955), p. 104.

⁶⁹ Jeremiah I. 14; cf. W. R. Morfill & R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Oxford (1896), pp. 9—10; *Pirkeh de Rabbi Eliezer*, trans. Friedlander, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Jewish sources for such direction equivalents include the *Sefer Yetstrah* itself (I. 13 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 69); Babylonian Talmud, *Tractate Baba Bathra* 25a & b; for a survey of Greek and Roman sources, see C. A. Lobeck, *Aglophanus*, vol. 2, Berlin (1829), pp. 915—918.

⁷¹ *Hakhmoni*, Castelli, p. 22 = Warsaw—Jerusalem, p. 128.

⁷² For this orientation in the microcosmic analogy, see above, note 42; in the *Sefer, Yetsirah*, above, note 34.

that this orientation of the head and tail, since it is part of their influence for good and evil, ought also to be connected with their respective exaltations. If so, there is a possible explanation in an unusual arrangement of the zodiacal signs by the Muslim cosmologist and geographer al-Bīrūnī (973—1051).⁷³ In his *Elements of the Art of Astrology*, he gives the zodiacal signs terrestrial direction equivalents based, apparently, on so-called "sacred geography" — traditional orientations in the religious rites of various peoples and in the positioning of their temples. According to these direction equivalents, Sagittarius occupies a segment with the compass bearings 105 degrees — 135 degrees, giving the exaltation of the tail of the dragon a bearing of 108 degrees. Gemini occupies a segment with the compass bearings 255 degrees — 285 degrees, giving the exaltation of the head a bearing of 258 degrees.⁷⁴ These bearings give a rough East—West orientation for Donnolo's *Tli* or, to put it another way, the orientation Donnolo gives it very nearly places it, according to al-Bīrūnī, in its position of maximum influence for good and evil. Certainly, in that position, it does not form a straight line, but Donnolo emphasises in all the passages that have been quoted the Biblical description of the dragon as crooked or twisting. Thus it may be that Donnolo was prepared to accept quite a serious contradiction in order to insist on the astrological powers of his dragon, on this wisdom lost to Israel, which he had re-discovered in the Muslim wisdom of the *Jawzahr* and in Muslim cosmology.

However, it may still be asked why Donnolo wanted to elaborate and perpetuate the original contradiction he found in the *Sefer Mazzalot*, the contradiction between the celestial and the lunar dragon? Why did he need the *Jawzahr* at all to explain the power of the *Tli*? The answer could be that the idea of the celestial dragon had developed risky theological implications. For the dragon was important in gnostic cosmology. It was a monster made by the demiurge before the creation of the planets and the constellations to oversee the whole world.⁷⁵ It was the principle of motion in the universe, everything in heaven and on earth depended upon it.⁷⁶ Its head was at the north pole for, from that vantage point, it could look both east and west so that nothing that happened could escape its gaze.⁷⁷ Perhaps it was to escape such implications that Donnolo readily accepted the connection made by the *Sefer Mazzalot* between the general powers of the *Tli* and the particular astrological power of the lunar dragon, despite the contradictions involved — and emphasised it by using his knowledge of a particular Muslim idea of the *Jawzahr*, together with a particular idea in Muslim cosmology.⁷⁸

⁷³ See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, Harvard (1964), p. 108. The other possible date for Bīrūnī's death is 1048; see R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge (1930 & 1962); p. 361.

⁷⁴ *Kitāb al-taḥlīm li-awā'il šinā'at al-tanjīm*, ed. & trans. R. R. Wright, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, London (1934), p. 215; cf. Seyyed, p. 156.

⁷⁵ Bouché, p. 122.

⁷⁶ *Origenis philosophumena sive omnium haeresium refutatio* V. 16 = MPG vol. 16³, col. 3174 C—D.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, IV. 47 = col. 3111 B—C; cf. IV. 48 = col. 3115 C.

⁷⁸ For further comments see my forthcoming *The Universe of Shabbetai Donnolo*, ch. 3, to be published this summer by Aris & Phillips (Warminster, Engl).

ANIMAL SACRIFICE IN THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

The highly individual character of the Armenian Church has been chiefly expressed, if not by its claim to apostolic origin, then by its own doctrine on the nature of Christ elaborated when, immersed in its own affairs, it completely ignored that formulated in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon — a doctrine it eventually denounced, more than half a century later, as a mere aberration of the emperor Marcian¹. However, it had by then developed rites and customs no less peculiarly Armenian. One of those was the celebration of certain occasions by the offering of animal sacrifices, a custom called *matal*, the Armenian for something tender, especially the young of animals². Sufficiently out of the ordinary though such a custom may appear in a Christian context, it has attracted comparatively little attention. Most of the research done on it was by Conybeare between 1898 and 1905, while the last comprehensive account seems to have been that by Tixeront in 1913³. It is useful, therefore, to attempt a re-examination of its

*ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
<i>CHAMA</i>	V. LANGLOIS, <i>Collection des historiens arméniens modernes et anciens</i> , vol. 1, Paris (1867)
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i>
<i>MANSI</i>	J. D. MANSI, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i>
<i>MPG</i>	J. P. MIGNE, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , series graeca-latina
<i>MPL</i>	J. P. MIGNE, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , series latina
<i>REArm</i>	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'orient chrétien</i>

¹ See M. ÖRMANIAN, *The Church of Armenia*, London (1912), p. 34-35; S. DER NER-SESSIAN, *Armenians and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge (1947), p. 38.

² There are alternative transliterations of Մատաղ *matal* or *madagh*; they derive from alternative pronounciations of certain Armenian consonants; see e.g. tables in F. C. CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, Oxford (1898), p. 190; J. DE MORGAN, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, Paris (1919), p. 187. Since Byzantine Greek regularly used the system which rendered Մատաղ by ματάλια (cf. ἑωβηθηληνο-καθολικός) — for the rendering ματάλια see also F. C. CONYBEARE, "Les sacrifices d'animaux dans les églises chrétiennes", *RHR* 44 (1901), p. 111, — this will be the system used here, cf. R. GODEL, *An Introduction to the Study of Classical Armenian*, Wiesbaden (1975), p. 3.

³ J. TIXERONT, "Le rite du *matal*", *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et archéologie chrétienne* 3 (1913), p. 81-94; for references to Conybeare's many publications, see the previous and following footnotes.

nature and history, largely based on the material assembled by Conybeare, in whose debt such re-examinations are always likely to remain.

According to Armenian tradition, the custom of *matal* was first enjoined upon the faithful with the establishment of Christianity as the official religion by the first catholicos, or patriarch, Gregory the Illuminator (302-325), soon after he had converted Tiridates III (298-330) the last pagan king of Armenia. How it was that this particular custom, seemingly a continuation of pagan sacrifices, came to be adapted for Christian purposes was first explained by the catholicos Sahak (Isaac I, c. 387-c. 439)⁴. With the success of the Christian mission, "sons of the pagan priests" came to Gregory and complained of the harm that would be caused them by the abolishing of sacrifices, allotted portions of which had substantially contributed to their fathers' livelihood. Gregory replied that, if they were willing to be baptised, they might, as priests of the church, continue with the sacrifice of animals, though henceforth to the one true God — not to the unclean spirits they had hitherto worshipped. They would then continue to enjoy their portion of the offering, indeed an ampler portion than had their fathers — he repeated in detail the limbs and organs promised by Gregory — in contrast to the bare skin and backbone which, according to another account, was all that used to be grudgingly allowed by many pagan congregations⁵.

Sahak's explanation of why animal sacrifices continued under the new dispensation was not, however, the only one. Later explanations, presumably derived from traditions other than his, while usually agreeing that it was indeed Gregory who perpetuated or adapted the custom, often gave different reasons from those of Sahak's for what he did. Thus, according to Uxtanēs, bishop of the Armenians in Sebasteia, north-east Asia Minor, between 972 and 992, Gregory was ordered by Tiridates, before his conversion, to sacrifice to the Armeno-Persian goddess Anahit. Gregory obeyed, but first he declared

⁴ These are the traditional date, but cf. Conybeare in note 5 below, and those proposed by R. H. HEWSEN, "The Successors of Tiridates the Great", *REArm.* 13 (1978-79), p. 118, p. 121, p. 126.

⁵ See A. MAI, *Ecclesiae Armeniae canones selecti (Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita vol. 10)*, Rome (1838), p. 289-290; F. C. CONYBEARE, "The Armenian Canons of St. Sahak, Catholicos of Armenia (390-439 A.D.)", *AJT* 2 (1898), p. 847; cf. TIXERONT, p. 82; for the "ampler portion" promised by Gregory, see J. CAPPALLETI, *S. Nersesis Clajensis Armeniorum Catholici Opera*, vol. 1, Venice (1833), p. 40; F. C. CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford (1905), p. 79.

the truth of his faith so that his victims became the first offered in Armenia to the Christian God⁶.

On the other hand, according to the normally reliable thirteenth century historian Kirakos Ganjakec'i, it was precisely when Tiridates accepted Christianity and ordered his subjects to do likewise that Gregory, in celebration of his victory, and not particularly because of "the sons of the priests", performed the first Christian animal sacrifice⁷. According to another account, such triumphal sacrifices were ordered throughout Italy when Gregory and the king visited the emperor Constantine⁸. But there is a more serious difficulty than that presented by these discrepancies. It is that, with the solitary exception of Sahak, contemporary or nearly contemporary sources say nothing whatever about Gregory and his adaptation of pagan sacrifices. This omission is especially puzzling when it occurs in a detailed fifth century account of Gregory's struggle to convert Tiridates and of his eventual success. Here Gregory is certainly said to have celebrated the victory of Christianity by a solemn sacrifice — but in the ordinary Christian sense of the sacrifice of the eucharist⁹.

However, neither the contradictory account in these later sources, nor the silence of the earlier one, need necessarily cast doubt on the tradition which credits Gregory with the establishment of *matal* in the circumstances described by Sahak: that it was to meet the wishes of "the sons of the pagan priests". For there were two reasons why Gregory needed their help. The first was that during the course of his mission he had been largely dependent on foreign clergy. Obviously, for a well organised church a native clergy was desirable. The sons of priests were, to begin with, suitable because they were likely to be

⁶ Uxtanes Urhayec'i, chs. 75-77; trans. M. BROSSET, *Histoire en trois parties (Deux historiens arméniens, vol. 1)*, St. Petersburg (1870), p. 260-262; on the identity of this author see P. PEETERS, "Sainte Sousanik martyre en Arméno-Géorgie" *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935) 247-260; cf. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, *The Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith*, London (1897), p. 114-133; on the goddess Anahit, see N.O. EMIN, *Studies & Essays in Armenian Mythology, Archeology, History and Literary History 1858-1894*, Moscow (1896), p. 15-20; p. 88 (in Russian).

⁷ KIRAKOS GANJAKEC'I, *Hamarôt Patmut' iwn* (Universal History), trans. M. BROSSET, *Histoire d'Arménie (Deux historiens arméniens vol. 1)* St. Petersburg (1870), p. 7.

⁸ N.O. EMIN, *The Universal History of Vardan the Great*, Moscow (1861), p. 51 (in Russian).

⁹ AGAT'ANGELOS, *Patmut' iwn* (History), 114-115; trans. V. LANGLOIS, "Histoire du règne de Tiridate et de la prédication de S. Grégoire l'illuminateur", *CHAMA* p. 173-176.

better educated than the mass of the population. It is known that those who were willing to be converted were forthwith assembled for training in Christian doctrine and its exegesis; so useful were their future services considered that they were paid wages until they took up office and benefited from its perquisites¹⁰.

The second, and probably the more important reason for Gregory's interest in the sons of priests was the special status they had in Armenia. As in many other parts of the pagan near east, they came from families whose duty and privilege it had been for centuries to conduct the ruling cult. In Armenia, such families, with their own lands and retinues, did not differ greatly in rank from the feudal nobility, while the senior among them often included members of the ruling dynasty¹¹. The importance of preserving this priestly caste was well recognised by Tiridates after his conversion. While he deprived the then officiating priests of all their privileges and possessions determined, as he proclaimed, to stamp out every trace of idol worship, to the sons of these priests he gave his promise that they would be well looked after under the new dispensation if they accepted its doctrines and officiated in the worship it enjoined. It was to this promise that Gregory gave a practical expression¹². And it was perfectly natural that he should, for he was himself both a member of such a priestly family and of royal Perso-Armenian descent¹³. Just as in his youth he had turned to Christianity, so now these sons of priests, provided their rights were not infringed, might be willing to follow his example, and thus ensure a measure of continuity by transferring to the new priesthood something of the status of the old in the very moment of its institution.

The importance that Gregory attached to such a continuity in the establishment of his church was apparent when he ensured that his son became catholicus in explicit succession to himself, just as would normally have happened had Gregory been a high priest under the old dispensation. Similarly, he arranged that the sons of bishops, just like "the sons of the priests", should succeed their fathers — which

¹⁰ AGAT'ANGELOS, 120 (LANGLOIS, p. 179, cf. p. 181); see TISDALL, p. 155-6; S. C. MALAN, *The Life and Times of Gregory the Illuminator*, London (1868), p. 299-300.

¹¹ See EMIN, *Studies & Essays*, p. 56.

¹² See CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 69-70.

¹³ See M. L. CHAUMONT, *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie*, Paris (1969), p. 133-134; cf. A. SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire d'Arménie par le Patriarche Jean VI*, (Paris (1841), p. 26-27; F. MACLER, "Une 'légende dorée' de l'Arménie", *RHR* 84 (1921), p. 15; F. TOURNEBIZE "Etude sur la conversion de l'Arménie", *ROC* 12 (1907), p. 156-157.

they went on doing in the early centuries of Armenian Christianity, before the higher clergy were compelled to celibacy¹⁴. Nearly four hundred years after Gregory, the existence of an hereditary hierarchy if, indeed, it still did exist, was a target for attack as an institution which copied the Jewish priestly caste¹⁵. It would have been more accurate to attack it as a survival of pre-Christian Armenia. Here, its origins support the tradition that it was also Gregory who perpetuated and adapted another pre-Christian custom — animal sacrifice.

Lastly, this tradition should be placed in the context of quite a different one put forward, like Sahak's, in the fifth century; that *matal* was established by James the apostle or by the bishop Justus, supposedly his successor as head of the congregation in Jerusalem¹⁶. However, although this alternative tradition was to reoccur in the sources, it was the story of Gregory and the sons of the pagan priests which was invariably relied upon whenever the practice of *matal* had to be defended and was recalled, as will be seen later, in the prayer prefatory to its celebration, although the whole ritual, as finally codified, was itself ascribed to Justus¹⁷. It is difficult to believe that such insistence was solely due to Gregory's unique place in the history of his church, solely due to his authority, when an alternative tradition existed which gave *matal* an impeccably Christian origin. The unshakeable conviction that Gregory's need to adapt pagan sacrifices was indeed the true origin of *matal* is itself evidence of Sahak's reliability.

Sahak also credited Gregory with fixing the occasions on which *matal* was to be offered; it could hardly be otherwise — Christian occasions had to be immediately substituted for pagan ones. An example, though not one expressly mentioned by Sahak, was the feast of John the Baptist which was shared with the Armenian saint and martyr Athenogines¹⁸. Her relics had been presented to Gregory on his

¹⁴ AGATANGELOS, 122 (*Langlois*, p. 171); cf. K. ASLAN, *Études historiques sur le peuple arménien*, Paris (1909), p. 230 and note 1.

¹⁵ *Canon 33* of the Quinisext Council (MANSI, vol. 11, col.s. 957E-960A); on this Council, see below, p. 435.

¹⁶ See CAPPELLETTI, p. 38, note 2; CONYBEARE, *RHR*, p. 114; the third after James according to EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica* iii.35 MPG vol. 20, col. 288A).

¹⁷ E.g. in the reign of the catholicus Gregory III (1113-1166); see CAPPELLETTI, p. 25, p. 40 (see below, p. 440); at the Council of Sis (1342) — MANSI, vol. 25, col. 1228 B (see below, p. 444).

¹⁸ On this martyrdom, see S. *Basili Magni liber de spiritu sancto*, MPG vol. 32, col. 205A; cf. TOURNEBIZE, *ROC* 12 (1907), p. 281 Sahak ascribed the institution of the Feast of St. John the Baptist to Gregory but did not mention *matal* (Conybeare, *AJT* 2, p. 841).

ordination to the Christian priesthood, and her day was that on which sacrifices had been offered to the god Vahagan, the Mars of the Armenian pantheon¹⁹. In Sahak's account, the occasions for *matal* were to be at Easter, on certain other festivals perhaps particularly Pentecost and the Transfiguration, on the days of famous saints presumably including John the Baptist and Athenogines, and "in memory of those who had died in Christ"²⁰. At some later date, not before the beginning of the sixth century, *matal* was also enjoined at the dedication of an altar, according to one source, "even as did Solomon when he built his temple and fixed up his altar", according to another, in memory of animal sacrifices allegedly offered by the emperor Constantine I, his mother Helena and the pope Silvester I at the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem²¹.

Just as it is probable that the institution of *matal* and the fixing of most of its occasions was the work of Gregory the Illuminator, so it might be expected that it was he, too, who laid down how the sacrificial victims were to be selected and instructed his priests on the proper ritual of sacrifice to be followed, if only at once to differentiate *matal* from the sacrifices of pagan Armenia. It may have been so, but Gregory's part here is nowhere explicitly stated. It is only known that by the sixth century rules for selecting the victim did exist, and that by the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth there was a complete ritual for the different kinds of *matal*, perhaps codified during the catholicate of Maštoc' (died 898)²².

For the Easter *matal* the victim had to be a lamb, on other occasions cows, bulls, goats or sheep might be offered, as might be in their stead, if scarce or expensive, doves or pigeons²³. Not only the paschal lamb, obligatory at Easter, but also the young of any animal, if not obligatory, was always preferable: tender flesh made the sacrifice more acceptable (*ənduneli*); this was, indeed, why the word *matal* was used to denote it²⁴. A diseased or crippled victim might not

¹⁹ AGAT'ANGELOS, 114 (LANGLOIS, p. 174 and note 1); see CHAUMONT, p. 154, p. 158 and note 2; Aslan, p. 174-175; cf. M. H. ANANIKIAN, "Armenian Mythology", *Mythology of all Races*, Lobdon (1925), p. 42, p. 365.

²⁰ See CONYBEARE, *Key of Truth*, p. 134, note 1; *Idem*, "The Survival of Animal Sacrifice in the Christian Church", *AJT* 7 (1903), p. 67.

²¹ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 76 and note a; cf. TIXERONT, p. 82.

²² CONYBEARE, *supra*, p. xxx, p. xxxii; on the dates of the catholicate of Maštoc' I, see also DE MORGAN, p. 409.

²³ See TIXERONT, p. 82-83.

²⁴ See CAPPALLETTI, p. 38, note 1; cf. CONYBEARE, *RHR*, p. 111.

be offered, but it also had to be free from what might be called moral blemish. Thus, it could not be offered if it had been unjustly acquired or by barter for an animal itself not fit: a sheep could not be offered if it had been acquired in exchange for a dog but could be if acquired in exchange for an ass since an ass, though itself unfit for sacrifice, had been sacrificed by Christ having ridden upon it into Jerusalem²⁵.

Victims were to be provided by individual members of the congregation whether the occasion for *matal* was private or public. Thus, the individual congregant was not only responsible if the offering was for the repose of his dead, but also on festivals and saints' days when, if not from simple motives of piety, the offering might be his gift in fulfilment of a vow or in support of prayers for divine help in time of trouble²⁶.

After the victim had been accepted as a fit offering, there followed, if it was to be for the whole congregation, the so-called *Canon of Dominical Blessing* — the general order of sacrifice for festivals and saints' days. The promised animal was brought to the door of the church in front of a cross set up for the purpose. The head of the animal was decorated with red ribbons and a red covering was thrown over it. The cross was then decorated, exactly how and for what purpose is not certain. It is probable that the custom here varied at different periods and in different parts of Armenia or in different Armenian settlements outside it. However, the dominant colour of these decorations too was usually red. A red cloth might also be held in front of the cross, perhaps to protect it from the blood about to be spilled, and the cross itself might be festooned in garlands of red and white cotton wool²⁷.

The actual service then began with four psalms followed by five readings from the scriptures. The first reading was from *Leviticus* I.1-13, the passage where the people of Israel are told how to offer their sacrifices: the rules for the burnt offering. The second was from *II Samuel* VI.17-19, where it is told how David sacrificed burnt offerings and peace offerings before the ark of the covenant. The third was from *Isaiah* LVI.6-7, where it is declared that burnt offerings, and other sacrifices, are also acceptable from Gentiles who do not

²⁵ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 72, p. 73; cf. TIXERONT, p. 83, notes 2 & 3.

²⁶ See CONYBEARE, *RHR*, p. 111.

²⁷ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 54; see TIXERONT, p. 83 and note 6; CONYBEARE, *RHR*, p. 112; CAPPELLETTI, p. 50-51 (note 1).

desecrate the Sabbath and honour the covenant of Abraham. The fourth reading was from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* XIII.10-16, where songs of praise offered in thanks for the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in spite of the abuse Christians suffered thereby were declared to be the equivalent of the sacrifices offered by the people of Israel. A fifth psalm was then said followed by the fifth reading which was from *Luke XIV*.12-15, where it is enjoined upon him who gives a banquet to invite the poor and the afflicted rather than rich neighbours, friends or kinsmen²⁸.

The Canon of Dominical Blessing was concluded by a prayer. In it, the officiating priest recalled the divine commandment on the people of Israel to offer up from "their flocks and herds and other pure animals". This commandment prefigured the true salvation since offered, while even before that it could be fulfilled, said the prophets, by offering up the bloodless sacrifice of an afflicted and humble spirit. Nevertheless he prayed that the present sacrifice be accepted as had been those offered by the people of Israel, and those anciently offered by his own people "after they had been weaned from the pollution of heathen immolations and develish idolatry". He prayed that the petitions of all the congregants be granted, particularly of those who had provided the offering, that their material possessions be increased, and that their sins be forgiven them²⁹.

On Easter Day, for the sacrifice of the paschal lamb, there was added a passage from *Psalms* LXVI on the burnt offering, followed by a prayer which recalled the sacrifices of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob together with those offered by the Armenians "in every season" and begged that the present sacrifice be acceptable as one of reconciliation as had been that of Abel. Of the Passover sacrifice by the Jews, there was no mention³⁰. The *Prayer at the Dedication of an Altar* recalled the sacrifices of Abel, of Noah and of Abraham³¹. It did not recall those offered by Solomon at the dedication of his temple, nor those allegedly offered at the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection³².

²⁸ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 54 (his reference for the second reading is, wrongly, to *II Kings* 17-19).

²⁹ CONYBEARE, *ibid.*, p. 55-57.

³⁰ CONYBEARE, *ibid.*, p. 65.

³¹ CONYBEARE, *ibid.*, p. 61.

³² See above, p. 419.

If the sacrifice offered was only a dove or a pigeon, the general order of service was very short. The wings of the bird were silvered, the tips of its feathers gilded in accordance with *Psalm* LXVIII.13 (the only reading) where Israel's future glory is likened to "the wings of the dove covered in silver and her feathers in yellow gold". In the short prayer which followed, the recurring juxtaposition of the sacrifice of Christ, ending the need for a blood sacrifice, with the institution of *matal* found its clearest expression: as distinct from the people of Israel, "we by the precious blood of thy only begotten son have been made free by thy holy spirit; now we, having trusted in thee, offer unto thee this bird for thy holy pleasure"³³.

The *Prayer at the Dedication of an Altar* also begged for divine mercy on the souls of the dead, that is on departed members of the congregation as a whole. But *matal* offered in memory of an individual had an order of service all its own, to be distinguished from the *Canon of Dominical Blessing*. It might be offered on the third, ninth or fortieth day after the death³⁴. In its accompanying service, "for the repose of souls", there is no mention of the victim being decorated, brought before a cross, or even to the church door — though at least the last was probably done since the feast which, as will be seen, followed every sacrifice was in this instance actually held in the church³⁵.

The service consisted of five psalms and four readings from the scriptures. The first reading was from *Proverbs* III.9-10: "Honour the Lord with thy substance and with the first fruits of all thy increase: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses burst out with the new wine". The second was from *Acts of the Apostles* XXIV.14-18: the apostle Paul brought offerings to the Temple in Jerusalem — Christians accepted the law and the prophets of Israel — that was why they believed in the resurrection of the just and of the unjust. The third reading was from *I Peter* IV.6-7: the dead, too, could benefit from the preaching of the gospel. The fourth reading was from *Luke* XIX.1-10 — the story of Christ and the tax-collector, illustrating the possible salvation of the outcast and the sinner.

The prayer which followed did not recall the sacrifices of the people of Israel as had the other prayers. It did, however, as had the fourth

³³ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 65-66.

³⁴ See TIXERONT, p. 82.

³⁵ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 58; *Id.*, *AJT* 7, p. 69.

reading of the general service, speak of a banquet: it was to be an occasion for rejoicing in which the mourners themselves should take part³⁶. A hymn or chant (*šarakan*), normal in every service of the Armenian Church, was also sung; in this instance it included the invocation, "accept from us on behalf of the departed this proper sacrifice"³⁷.

There was also a special kind of memorial *matal* not mentioned in the codified rite, at least not in the version collated and translated by Conybeare. On the death of a member of the clergy, the body was brought before the altar, the forehead and right hand were anointed, the latter being kissed by those paying their last respects, while outside *matal* was offered when, according to some sources, the victim was not decorated³⁸. The catholicus Constantine I (1221-1267), for example, particularly asked for this sacrifice to be offered when he came to die. There is no doubt from the context that he meant *matal* and not the ordinary sacrament of extreme unction which, indeed, was far less regularly observed³⁹.

Before any sacrifice, public or private, the priest blessed a quantity of salt which the victim was made to eat, "to the end that everything, wherewith the salt shall be merged, may be for us unto holiness of forgiveness and remission of sins"; it was believed that the salt cleansed the victim of the corruption with which the fall of Adam had contaminated all creation and returned it to its original purity. The priest then put his hand on the head of the victim and cut its throat, except for the paschal lamb which was most probably killed by the head of the household providing it. However, according to a source later than the Canon of Dominical Blessing and its associated rites, this may sometimes have been the custom not only for the paschal lamb but for every *matal*⁴⁰.

The mention of a banquet in the prayer for the repose of souls, and in the fourth reading from the scriptures in the general service,

³⁶ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 58-60.

³⁷ See F. NÈVE, *L'Arménie chrétienne et sa littérature*, Louvain (1886), p. 217; cf. p. 47, p. 215, p. 239-240.

³⁸ See F. TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, Paris (1910), p. 363, p. 385; cf. Mansi, vol. 25, col. 1242B.

³⁹ KIRAKOS, ch. 43 (BROSSET, p. 147, cf. Latin version, p. 199); F. MACLER, "De Erroribus Armenorum", *RHR* 89 (1924), p. 70-71.

⁴⁰ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 57-58; CAPELLETTI, p. 51; cf. CONYBEARE, *RHR*, p. 112-113.

referred to the eating of the flesh of the victim which followed its sacrifice — unless only a dove or a pigeon had been offered — and which was an integral part of the full *matal* ceremony. After the priest had received his portion, the rest of the animal was eaten at a meal to which the head of the household providing it invited his relations, his friends and the poor of the congregation. This was called the agape, the name given by the early Christians to their ceremony of a shared meal or love-feast. Whatever may have been the composition of the guests at those original agapes, it is certain that no sacrifice could be acceptable if the poor did not share in the eating of the meal which followed the *matal*, with the possible exception of the meal which followed the Easter *matal*, where only the members of the household offering it may have participated⁴¹. On other occasions there could be no doubt: the catholicus Yovhannēs I Mandakuni (478-490) laid it down that it was the poor rather than anyone else who should be invited⁴². The catholicus Nersēs II (548-557) even declared that “the priests shall not venture to carry off portions according to the canons but shall give them to the poor there and then in the presence of the master of the agape”⁴³. The poor at the agape were to be fed first, then, if anything remained, friends and kinsfolk: so ruled the catholicus Nersēs IV Šnorhali — “the Gracious” — (1166-1173)⁴⁴.

If this act of charity were omitted or restricted, no sacrifice could benefit either the living or the dead. And the prevailing tendency was to stress this last purpose: to make the term “agape” almost synonymous with the meal following the sacrifice for the repose of souls since, apart from any other reason, this was likely to be, in

⁴¹ For apparently this distinction between the distribution of the Easter sacrifice and of the others, see CAPPELLETTI, p. 49-50; cf. TIXERONT, p. 84.

⁴² CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 74.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 74-75.

⁴⁴ Occasionally *šnorhali* has been rendered “graceful”, e.g. by H. KATCHADOURIAN, “The Christology of St. Nerses Šnorhali in Dialogue with Byzantium”, *Miscellanea Franciscana* 78 (1978), p. 414; it has also been rendered “merciful” or “benevolent”, see G. BAYAN, “Pologenia (Statut): Règlements suprêmes pour le gouvernement des affaires de l’église arménienne grégorienne en Russie”, *ROC* 27 (1929-1930), p. 185, note 1. However, although the dictionary meaning can be either “gracious” or “graceful” (see e.g. M. G. KOUYOUMJIAN, *A Comprehensive Armenian Dictionary*, Cairo (1961), p. 603), in biblical, or in what has been called “religious” Armenian, *šnorhk* has regularly translated χάρις; see CH. DE LAMBERTERIE, “Une isoglosse gréco-arménienne”, *REArm.* 13 (1978-79), p. 36-37.

the nature of things the kind most frequently celebrated. Thus, in 488, a synod in the province of Alovania (Caspian region), held to revive the customs of a community nearly destroyed by a new wave of paganism, enjoined only this kind of *matal*: everyone, according to his means, must offer a yearly sacrifice for his dead⁴⁵. Nearly eight hundred years later in Cilician Armenia, again at a time of crisis, this was still the obligation which was considered important enough for inclusion in twenty-five rules for the restoration of church discipline⁴⁶. The general rubric which prefaced the codified rite called an agape simply "the repose of souls", an occasion for charity specifically to that end⁴⁷. It could be held throughout the whole customary forty days of mourning, each day followed by distributions of meat to the poor⁴⁸. To this day, the word *matal*, in addition to its meaning of tender, or the young of animals, has also preserved the meaning of "a mortuary feast for the poor": a meal at which the relatives of the deceased distribute alms for the repose of his soul⁴⁹.

Finally, it is to be supposed that a necessary part of the agape, whether held for the repose of souls or on some other occasion, was the celebration of the eucharist, that the whole ceremony of *matal* would have been incomplete without it. The concluding prayer in the *Canon of Dominical Blessing* and the prayer which concluded the order of service for the sacrifice of doves or pigeons, both stressed, as has been noticed, that the commandment on the people of Israel to offer animal sacrifice only prefigured the salvation since offered by "the precious blood of the only begotten". It followed, therefore, that offerings which recalled the old dispensation had to be completed by the offering which symbolised the new⁵⁰.

However, it has also to be noticed that the actual evidence for a eucharist celebrated at the agape is inconclusive. Sahak strictly prohibited priests from taking any food or drink before what he called "the offering of the agape" on pain of being excluded from what he called "the bread of the offering". Those participating were similarly

⁴⁵ See TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 356-358 (note 2).

⁴⁶ KIRAKOS, ch. 44, *Rule* 19 (BROSSET, p. 153; cf. p. 150, note 1).

⁴⁷ See CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. xxix.

⁴⁸ See E. BORÉ, *Arménie*, Paris (1838), p. 243.

⁴⁹ See e.g. KOUYOUMLIAN, vol. 1, p. 487.

⁵⁰ Cf. CONYBEARE, *AJT* 7, p. 73.

prohibited: the priest had to exclude any who he knew had eaten or drunk beforehand from coming "to the bread of the offering, lest there be condemnation of himself and insult to the spiritual feast"⁵¹. Conybeare suggested that by "the offering of the agape" Sahak meant the flesh of the sacrificial victim, while by "the bread of the offering" he meant the eucharist — the "spiritual feast". But in both instance, as Conybeare himself pointed out, Sahak used the Armenian *patarag* for "offering" — so accordingly rendered in English — and *patarag*, as its equivalents in other languages, could mean either the eucharist or a sacrificial victim⁵². Sahak's "spiritual feast" no less admits of either interpretation. Since the agape was an integral part of the rite of *matal*, it would have been perfectly natural to have so described it: a "spiritual feast" desecrated not only if those who celebrated it had eaten or drunk beforehand but also, as he himself elsewhere ruled, if anything was saved from it for future consumption "since it was a sacrifice to God"⁵³. The possibility that Sahak did mean the agape in both instances, that he forbade those who had partaken of food or drink before its "offering" — its celebration — from eating its "bread" — the flesh of the victim to be consumed there — can be supported by the way in which Nerses II issued a similar prohibition.

Immediately after commanding that at the agape the priests had to give up their portion to the poor, he continued his instructions for its proper celebration by commanding that

"the laymen invited to the bread of the sacrifice shall not dare to eat in their houses out of gluttony" —

if any had, they were to be rigidly excluded. However, if any known to have done so managed to get in nevertheless, he commanded that

"then the priests shall go out and shall not dare to bless the bread"⁵⁴.

The continuity between all three commandments suggests that all three referred to the agape; in any case, the natural meaning of the third is that the priests present were forbidden to say grace, and thus prevent the proper eating of the sacrifice because, through some of the partici-

⁵¹ Canon III.17-18 (CONYBEARE, *AJT* 2, p. 837).

⁵² See CONYBEARE, *AJT* 7, p. 70.

⁵³ *Sermo* I.30 (Mai, p. 279-280).

⁵⁴ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 75.

pants having eaten beforehand, the ceremony had been rendered invalid. It should also be noted that when on the same occasion (the Council of Duin, 555) Nersēs did explicitly refer to the eucharist, his word for it was not *pataraq* but *əncay*⁵⁵.

Assuming, nevertheless, despite these ambiguities that the celebration of the eucharist at an agape was highly probable, its actual place in the ceremony has still to be determined. According to Tixeront it was plainly shown by the prohibition itself: the agape "normally followed the eucharistic sacrifice, and this is why it was expressly forbidden for those who were to participate in it to eat before they came"⁵⁶. According to Conybeare, the eucharist was immediately after the meal because its function was the ceremonial completion of the agape⁵⁷. Agape and eucharist, he argued, was originally celebrated in that order as one ceremony in re-enactment of that meal at the end of which Christ had shared the bread and the wine. Although, by the end of the second century or at the beginning of the third, the official church had separated the two and, while the agape might still have continued to be held, the eucharist had become the central act of Christian worship in its own right, there was reason to suppose that the older custom did not forthwith everywhere disappear⁵⁸.

Without supposing the custom itself to have had anything to do with the sacrifice of animals, Conybeare believed that an instance of its persistence was the celebration of the eucharist in completion of the Armenian agape. It was to this celebration of the eucharist that Yovhannēs Ōjnc'ī referred (the catholicus Yovhannēs III, 712-728) when criticising those who would justify their customs because they followed Christ's example :

"... if we are to imitate exactly all that was done by Christ, then we must be baptised at thirty years of age, and rise again on the third day and ascend into heaven on the fortieth day. For so it was Christ's good will to do. Moreover we must communicate after supper at eventide ... but nowadays we interpose several hours between the fleshly and the spiritual table"⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ "*tanel hac' əncayi*"; see N. G. GARSOĪAN, *The Paulician Heresy*, Paris-The Hague (1967), text, p. 236, trans., p. 89.

⁵⁶ See TIXERONT, p. 84-85.

⁵⁷ See CONYBEARE, *AJT* 2, p. 70-71.

⁵⁸ On the history of the agape, see P. BATIFFOL, "Agape", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* vol. 1, Paris (1900), cols. 551-556; A. J. MACLEAN, "Agape", *ERE* vol. 1 (1908), p. 166-174.

⁵⁹ J. B. AUCHER, *Oratio Synodalis, Domini philosophi Joannis Ozniensis Armeniorum*

Again, in the first half of the twelfth century, it was to the eucharist following the agape that, according to Conybeare, the renegade Armenian Isaac, self-styled catholicus, referred — and in a very similar way. In denouncing many practices and beliefs of his former coreligionists, Isaac devoted a chapter to those who “copy Christ’s acts and ignore the teachings of the apostles and the fathers. Thus, because Christ after his disciples had eaten and were sated gave them of his body ... they first eat meat till sated and then participate in the mysteries”⁶⁰.

It is not likely, however, that either Yovhannēs Ōjneg’i or Isaac were referring to the Armenian agape. Both were concerned with an entirely different topic — the errors of the Paulicians who, in Isaac’s day as in Yovhannēs’s, particularly flourished among the Armenians, and who claimed Christ’s authority for some of their customs. Thus, Yovhannēs’ intention was to show up the absurdity of justifying in this way their custom of delaying baptism until the age of thirty by showing how absurd it would be to imitate other acts of Christ, among them a eucharist in imitation of the last supper⁶¹. Isaac, too, although supposedly attacking the customs of the Armenian Apostolic Church was here really attacking those which, except that of eating before the eucharist, were recognisably Paulician — all practised, according to him, with precisely the justification ridiculed by Yovhannēs. Thus Isaac’s accusations included baptism at thirty on Christ’s precedent, rejection of a proper hierarchy because “Christ did not ordain priests”, and refusal to use church buildings because Christ “did not build churches”⁶². Perhaps he levelled these accusations quite indiscriminately in an effort to blacken his countrymen by alleging against them every deviation from Byzantine orthodoxy of which he had ever heard —

Catholici Opera, Venice (1834), text, p. 16, trans. p. 17; quoted by CONYBEARE, *AJT* 7, p. 72.

⁶⁰ *Isaaci Armenii Catholici oratio invectiva adversus Armenios*, MPG vol. 132, cols. 1180C, 1180D; cf. Conybeare as in note 59; on Isaac’s alleged catholicate, see GARSOIAN, p. 104, note 86; G. GARITTE, *Scripta disiecta 1941-1977*, Louvain 1980, t. 1, p. 114-118; t. 2, p. 788-70; TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 247, note 1; the traditional date for the *Invectiva* is 1145; see V. GRUMEL, “Les invectives contre les Arméniens du ‘Catholicos Isaac’”, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 14 (1956), p. 179; Grumel himself argued (p. 179-187) that it was written some hundred years earlier by Euthymius, a monk of the monastery of Peribleptos. [L’article de G. Garitte indique plutôt que ce libelle est l’œuvre d’un polémiste chalcédonien anonyme prétendant réfuter les Arméniens d’après leurs propres autorités, y compris le célèbre catholicos Sahak, *NDLR*].

⁶¹ See GARSOIAN, p. 160, note 40.

⁶² *Oratio invectiva*, cols. 1180C, 1181A; on the Paulicians and a hierarchy see GARSOIAN, p. 155, p. 163; on the Paulicians and church buildings, *ibid.*, p. 162; cf. on both subjects, D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils*, Cambridge (1948), p. 53.

as Conybeare himself had elsewhere suggested⁶³. Perhaps he did believe, as others did, that all Armenians had probably been infected with the Paulician heresy⁶⁴.

It is more difficult to understand why he included eating before the eucharist in his catalogue of accusations, for there is no evidence that the Paulicians had any such custom. All that is known of their eucharist is that it differed in some unspecified way from that of the orthodox⁶⁵. Isaac may have heard of the comparison drawn by Yovhannēs between the eucharist immediately after food and baptism at thirty and assumed that therefore both were Paulician customs. Be the reason what it may, it is no less difficult to accept Isaac's accusation, occurring where it did, as having had anything to do with the Armenian agape. There is no more reason to accept, on his authority, that the Armenians first enjoyed a good meal, whether at an agape or otherwise, and then immediately took the sacrament, than that they did not baptise until the age of thirty, had no hierarchy, or would not hold their services inside a church. And so, while the probability that the eucharist was a necessary part of the agape can both be assumed *a priori* and supported by evidence which is no worse than inconclusive, neither Tixeront's bare assertion, nor the passages from John of Odzun and Isaac Catholicus cited by Conybeare, can decide at what stage it was normally celebrated.

The rite of *matal* must now be considered in a wider context. While in Armenia pagan sacrifices were adapted to Christian practice, elsewhere instances of them continued to occur long after the coming of Christianity. Of course, this was not suprising: no less than in Armenia, there were centuries of tradition behind them among the converted, whether in the near east or among the adherents of western pagan cults. Towards the end of the second century or at the beginning of the third, for example, certain sects were denounced for believing that Christ favoured those who spilled blood in his name, as though he were a pagan diety, and accordingly were thus "offering oblation for their sins"⁶⁶. But references to such sacrifices can be found very much later.

⁶³ See CONYBEARE, *Key of Truth*, p. lxxvi-lxxx; cf. GARSOĪAN, p. 105-106.

⁶⁴ See *Anna Comnenae Alexiadis* XIV.viii.3, ed. & trans. B. LEIB, *Anne Comnène Alexiade* vol. 3, Paris (1945), p. 178-179; cf. CONYBEARE, *Key of Truth*, p. lxxviii; J. GOUILLARD, "Gagik II, défenseur de la foi arménienne", *Travaux et mémoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines* 7 (1979), p. 405.

⁶⁵ See GARSOĪAN, p. 167, note 95.

⁶⁶ See L. GUERRIER & S. GRÉBAUT, "Le testament en Galilée de notre Seigneur

In 601, the pope Gregory the Great complained of Anglo-Saxons who were alleged to be offering them⁶⁷. Sometimes the intention of such sacrifices, if not their rite, did not appear to differ greatly from *matal*: in the fifth century, peasants of the Italian Campagna would sacrifice animals, ostensibly in honour of a local saint but with an obviously pagan ritual, and distribute their flesh to the poor⁶⁸. Towards the middle of the eighth century, there existed a Frankish custom of sacrificing bulls and goats to pagan idols for the repose of the dead⁶⁹.

On the other hand, Armenians were not alone in believing animal sacrifice, accompanied by prayers recalling precedents in ancient Israel, to be somehow acceptable in an explicitly Christian form, despite the ruling which every Christian, of whatever church, supposedly accepted — that the sacrifices of the old dispensation, with whatever intention, had once and for all been supplanted by the single sacrifice of the crucifixion⁷⁰. Here examples may be found even later than those indicating the persistence of an essentially pagan custom. Conybeare edited a number of such sacrificial prayers from Byzantine sources for comparison with their Armenian parallels. In a euchologion of the late eighth century, a prayer for the sacrifice of a bull on the occasion of a saint's day was readily comparable to the priest's prayer in the *Canon of Dominical Blessing*: it begged for spiritual and material benefits in as much as the people of Israel had been commanded to offer animals and birds for the good of their souls and the increase of their flocks⁷¹. A similar prayer occurred in a euchologion of the ninth or of the tenth century, while in a euchologion compiled about the year 1027, there was a prayer to be said before sacrificing for the repose of the dead⁷². In the first half of the twelfth century a miscellaneous collection of prayers included a blessing for the salt of the sacrifice⁷³.

Jesus-Christ". *Patrologia Orientalis* vol. 9 (1913), p. 185; on date and origin, see p. 161; it is not likely to have been a condemnation of *matal* itself as in Tixeront, p. 94, note 2.

⁶⁷ S. GREGORII PAPAE, *Epistola XI.56*; see P. JAFFÉ, *Regesta Pontificorum Romanorum*, Leipzig (1881), no. 1848; cf. TIXERONT, p. 89.

⁶⁸ *Paulini episcopi poema XX 47-85* (MPG vol. 61, cols. 553C-554B).

⁶⁹ *S. Zachariae Papae epistolae et decreta XI* (MPL vol. 89, col. 944B): cf. TIXERONT, p. 88.

⁷⁰ See e.g. *S. Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis et martyris contra haereses IV.17* (MPG vol. 7, cols. 1019B-1024B); *S. Justini philosophi et martyris dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo 41* (MPG vol. 6, cols. 564B-564A).

⁷¹ Text in CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 413-414; cf. *Id.*, *RHR* p. 108-109; C. J. HEFELE, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. 6, part 2, Paris (1915), p. 859, note 2.

⁷² Text in CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 436-437.

⁷³ Text, *ibid.*, p. 437.

Possible comparisons to the Easter *matal* were also to be found. In the second century, a Christian sect prided itself on perpetuating the Jewish rite for Passover, what was meant was the sacrifice of a lamb on Easter Day⁷⁴. In the eighth century euchologion already cited, there was a prayer entitled *For the Lamb* (according to a variant reading, *For the Paschal Lamb*). It recalled how God had permitted Abraham to sacrifice “an animal” instead of his son, and begged that those who were now offering a lamb would also “be rewarded with eternal gifts”⁷⁵. In the west there were customs, some reprobated by the official church, others accepted ritual which, if not definitely pointing to the sacrifice of a lamb, yet gave the eating of its flesh at Easter a special significance. In the ninth century, “an error of the simple”, as it was called, among the Franks was to place the flesh of a lamb on or under the altar, bless it with a special benediction and, on Easter Day, eat it before taking any other food⁷⁶.

There were also accusations that such might place it, “as the Greeks did”, side by side with the body of Christ and offer it in the Jewish fashion” — presumably with prayers recalling the sacrifices of ancient Israel⁷⁷. In the twelfth century it was the custom at the papal court to eat a meal of lamb immediately after the Easter mass. The pope would pronounce a special benediction and distribute morsels of the meat to his guests, the while passages from the scriptures were read or chanted⁷⁸. When the eighth century prayer for the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was printed in a standard euchologion of the Greek Church first published in 1647, it was defended by the editor on the ground that “the Roman Church did not abstain from approving this rite”: the pope himself followed it. And he supported his claim by citing the meal at the papal court⁷⁹. It was hardly his intention to imply that the papacy had adopted the custom of animal sacrifice: probably here, too, the important element was assumed to be the ceremonial offering or eating of the paschal lamb and not whether its slaying had been technically sacrificial or no.

⁷⁴ See HEFELE, *loc. cit.*, p. 856-857, note 2.

⁷⁵ Text in CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 414, and see his note m.

⁷⁶ WALAFRIDI STRABI, *De rebus ecclesiasticis XVIII* (MPL vol. 114, cols. 938B-939A).

⁷⁷ AENEAE PARIENSIS EPISCOPI, *Liber adversus Graecos, auctoris praefatio* (MPL vol. 121, col. 690A; cf. TIXERONT, p. 92-93).

⁷⁸ *Romanus ordo XI.48, XII.35* (MPL vol. 78, col. 1044D, 1079B-1080A); cf. TIXERONT, p. 93; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 513-514.

⁷⁹ See J. GOAR, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, 2nd. edn., Venice (1730), p. 567.

Thus, nearly every element of *matal* appeared in one or other of the foregoing examples: the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of its flesh as alms, sacrifices for the repose of souls or on the occasion of a saint's day, the blessing on the salt, the offering of an animal in conjunction with the eucharist, the ceremonial suggestive both of the last supper and of an agape and the references to the offerings demanded from the people of Israel were all to be found in a partly pagan or in a wholly Christian form. However, despite such parallels, *matal* itself remained a very different sort of custom: deliberately instituted and with a permanent place in the rites of the church, a custom observed throughout the liturgical year⁸⁰. Nevertheless, these parallels are relevant to its better understanding, not only because they show that in some aspects it was not unique, but also because some of them help to explain ways in which it was both attacked and defended.

One such instance needing explanation was a canon of the "Quisext Council" held at Constantinople in 691-692, so called because it was intended to confirm decisions of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils in the sphere of ritual and ecclesiastical administration. "We have heard", stated the canon,

"that in the land of the Armenians the following also happens: there are some who boil pieces of meat on the holy altars and then offer to the priests those pieces set aside for them, apportioned in Jewish fashion. In as much as we are responsible for keeping the church undefiled, we ordain that it be not permitted for any priest to accept portions of meat so set aside. They must be satisfied with those portions which the person providing the animal wishes to give them, and he must do the giving outside the church building. Any priest not acting accordingly is to be removed⁸¹.

The accusation of copying Jewish custom is not surprising. It was at this same Council that the Armenian hierarchy was similarly accused while subsequently, as will be seen, the Byzantines continued to single

⁸⁰ Cf. CONYBEARE, *AJT* 2, p. 829.

⁸¹ MANSI, vol. 11, col. 985C; HEFELE, vol. 3, part I (1909), p. 575: "καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίων χώρῃ γένεσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ὡς τινες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς θυσιαστηρίοις μέλη κρεῶν ἔψοντες, προσαγοῦσιν ἀφαιρέματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἀπονέμοντες. ὅθεν τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φυλάττοντες ἀκηλίδωτον, ὀρίζομεν μὴ ἐξεῖναι τινι τῶν ἱερέων ἀφορισμένα κρεῶν μέλη παρὰ τῶν προσαγόντων λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀρεσθῆ ὁ προσάγων, τοῦτοις ἀρκείσθωσαν, ἔξω τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς τοιαύτης γινομένης προσαγωγῆς: εἰ δὲ τις μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆ, ἀφοριζέσθω".

out this alleged Jewish character of the priestly portion. But it is not immediately understandable why it was this, and only this, which here was deemed to merit censure. The distribution of the meat as described could hardly have been other than part of the *matal* ceremony. Yet *matal* itself was not even mentioned.

An answer was attempted in a twelfth century collection of commentaries compiled under the direction of the canonist Theodore Balsamon : there was no doubt that such a distribution had been a Jewish custom, an integral element of their sacrificial rite, and that thus it was prohibited to Christians — especially within the church building, for that emphasised the ceremonial nature of the distribution. If the Armenians liked to give their priests cooked meat, strange though this might seem to us, there was no objection so long as this did not entail any ritual apportioning or other ceremony. It may be asked, continued Balsamon, why, if this canon censured two Armenian customs did it explicitly prohibit only one of them : the distribution of the meat but not its cooking “within the altar”. It was because such cooking had been prohibited to Christians once animal sacrifice had ended. Thus, although the canon had implicitly condemned this too, there had been no need explicitly to do so since only the distribution of the meat remained in question. Its cooking in this way was merely a relic of animal sacrifice — and this did not exist among the Armenians, in as much as Christianity had abolished it. Only what remained of the custom was therefore censured and that, insisted Balsamon and his colleagues, was still unquestionably Jewish⁸².

Why did Balsamon give an explanation so directly contrary to the facts? Firstly it should be recalled that the “land of Armenians” in the canon could not have been Armenia itself which, at the time of the Quinisext, was wholly under Muslim rule and whose priests, therefore, were not under Byzantine jurisdiction. Only parts of the empire could have been meant, chiefly eastern Asia Minor and north-eastern Greece where, ever since the end of the previous century, there had been a large Armenian immigration⁸³. These Armenians,

⁸² THEODORI BALSAMONIS, ZONARAE, ARISTENI, *Commentaria in canones SS Apostolorum, Conciliorum et in epistolas canonicas SS Patrum. in canonem XCIX Concilii in Trullo* (MPG vol. 137, cols. 860B-861A).

⁸³ See P. CHARANIS, “Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), p. 32-35.

however greatly they may have differed from the symbol of Chalcedon, lived on good terms with the general population. From about the middle of the seventh century and for some three hundred years thereafter, there is evidence that they even could, if they wished, join in the liturgy and partake of the eucharist with the rest of the congregation⁸⁴. It is possible to defend Balsamon's explanation if it be supposed that these Armenians on Byzantine soil were sufficiently assimilated to the customs of the majority for *matal* as such to have fallen into disuse with only the elements mentioned in the canon remaining — and those, too, partly a corruption of the original, since there was no injunction in the rite to cook the flesh of the victim inside a church — not to say on the altar. Such could have been the reasons why the canon needed only to censure what not only Balsamon but a modern authority, too, called "the relics of animal sacrifice"⁸⁵.

Unfortunately there is no evidence whatever that the Armenians did tend to abandon *matal* when not in their own country. What evidence exists on this point suggests, as will be seen, quite the opposite. Why, then, did the canon ignore *matal*? A better reason might be that it was not because *matal* had ceased to exist among Byzantine Armenians, but because something very like it did exist among the Byzantines themselves. At least, the formularies for it existed, even if it be hard to judge whether they were regularly — or ever — used; so it was wiser to say nothing about *matal* and its formularies: the similarities between the Byzantine and the Armenian versions were, as has been seen, striking enough.

Those who were the first to attack *matal* without reservations were not the orthodox Byzantines but the heretical Paulicians. A certain Bishop Yakob Hark'ac'i (near Erzerum), condemned for the heresy in the middle of the tenth century, held up *matal* for the dead to ridicule. "Alas, thou unhappy animal", he and his disciples would say, causing such to be brought before them, "leave alone the fact that yonder man committed sin and died, still what sin hast thou committed that thou shouldst die with him?"⁸⁶. The dead could not

⁸⁴ See G. EVERY, *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, London (1962), p. 58, note 3; cf. Ormanian, p. 49.

⁸⁵ See EVERY, p. 84; cf. F. E. BRIGHTMAN'S review of *Rituale Armenorum* in *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1910-11), p. 314.

⁸⁶ ARISTAKÈS LASTIVERTCI, *Patmut' iwn (History)* ch. 22, trans. Conybeare *Key of Truth*, p. 133-134.

be helped by sacrifices, by the prayers of the living accompanying such rites on their behalf⁸⁷. Nor was it only *matal* for the dead to which the Paulicians objected. They attacked every kind for the reason they attacked other customs — because they had not been ordained by Christ. Those who build churches and support a hierarchy are those who offer incense and candles and present victims, all of which are contrary to the Godhead⁸⁸. The attack on *matal* was part of the struggle to rid Christianity, as they claimed, of its materialist accretions and bring it back to its original purity⁸⁹. And so, in contrast to the Byzantines, when they attacked *matal* they were not concerned to single out one element of it and ignore another. If they singled out *matal* for the dead as meriting most censure it was only because, as has already been remarked, it was likely to be the most noticeable⁹⁰.

No Byzantine reference to *matal* occurred for some four hundred years after the Quinisext. Then there were two attacks on it, unambiguous in themselves this time, yet in circumstances which nevertheless support the possibility of a certain ambivalence. At the behest of the emperor Alexius I (1081-1118), the monk Euthymius Zigabenus compiled a comprehensive catalogue of deviations from orthodox dogma or custom as defined at Constantinople to guide the emperor in purifying the Christianity of his subjects, a task dear to his heart, causing him to be hailed as only second in his services to Christianity after Constantine himself⁹¹. In the section on Armenian heresies, Euthymius explained how,

“Although our Lord, Jesus Christ, ended animal sacrifice by giving portions to his disciples from the mystical supper, and saying, ‘Do this in remembrance of me’ — that is not the Jewish meal but that of which they had then mystically partaken — the Armenians do the opposite: they sacrifice bulls and sheep according to Jewish ritual, and then smear their doorposts with the blood of the victims, preferring to place in these their hopes of salvation. That is why they do not partake of the body and blood of the Lord at the festival of Easter, but of a lamb, which they sacrifice in Jewish fashion and then roast, expecting thereby to be hallowed and released from their sins”⁹².

⁸⁷ PAWLOS TARŌNAC’I, *ibid.*, p. 176; cf. S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee*, Cambridge (1947), p. 56, note 1.

⁸⁸ CONYBEARE, *Key of Truth*, p. 115; see Garsoïan, p. 156.

⁸⁹ See CONYBEARE, *Key of Truth*, p. cxxviii.

⁹⁰ Cf. GARSOÏAN, p. 163.

⁹¹ See ANNA COMNENA, XIV.viii.8 (Leib, vol. 3, p. 181); cf. F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d’Alexis I-er Comnène (Les Comnènes*, vol. 1), Paris (1900), p. 316-320.

⁹² EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENI, *Panoplia Dogmatica* XXIII (MPG vol. 130, col. 1184D).

Isaac Catholicus also devoted a chapter to an attack on *matal*: the Armenians had virtually rejected the eucharist, which had come to abolish animal sacrifice, and thus had rejected the doctrine of Christ's atonement. This was why they sacrificed a lamb at Easter and smeared their doorposts with its blood. They ought, therefore, be really thought of as Jews and not as Christians at all⁹³.

These two attacks on *matal* not only contradicted Balsamon's contention that it had ceased among the Armenians but also the possibility that he meant it had ceased among Armenians on Byzantine soil, since it is hardly likely that both sources, for some reason or other, were only referring to Armenians outside the empire. At the same time, both illustrated two aspects of *matal* and its critics already remarked upon: they emphasised the seriousness which the Byzantines attached to its allegedly Jewish character yet, in the context of that period, they imply another example of Byzantine ambivalence.

It happened that Alexius, in his struggle to ensure the perfect orthodoxy of all his subjects, was particularly concerned with the danger from Armenian errors. He expelled from Constantinople those Armenians whom he had failed to convince of the truth of Chalcedon⁹⁴. Others in Thrace, whom he suspected of dualist leanings, "whose filthy stream had joined with other filth" as his biographer put it, he forced to undergo a second baptism⁹⁵. And yet the practice of animal sacrifice, which his own guide to heresies and a convert to orthodoxy had both attacked, a practice adherents to which allegedly rejected what Christ himself had ordained, the pious Alexius never brought against the Armenians; and that at a time when many other accusations were being levelled at them, in addition to those mentioned here, when feeling against them, in contrast to their previous peaceful relations with the majority, was exceptionally strong⁹⁶. Be the reason for such an omission by Alexius that same Byzantine ambivalence towards

⁹³ *Oratio inveciva*, col. 1185B, 1235D; cf. TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 589.

⁹⁴ MICHAEL THE SYRIAN XV.7, ed. & trans. J.B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, vol. 3, Paris (1906), p. 185.

⁹⁵ ANNA COMNENA XIV.viii.3-8 Leib, vol. 3, p. 178-181); MATT'EOS URHAYEC'I, *Patmut' iwn (History)* III.228, trans. E. DULAURIER, *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse (926-1136)*, Paris (1858), p. 301.

⁹⁶ For other examples from this period of exceptional hostility, and from subsequent periods, see D. GUILLAUME, "L'église arménienne et les théologiens protestants du 16^e siècle", *REArm* 1 (1964), p. 271.

matal or no, and *argumenta a silentio* are notoriously unsatisfactory, Balsamon's flat denial that the Armenians practised animal sacrifice was, in any event sufficiently strange.

It must have been in his own day, or nearly so that the custom received its most elaborate and sustained defence by Nerses IV, some time before he became catholicus. It was composed at the request of his brother, the previous catholicus (Gregory III 1113-1166), in the form of a letter to the Armenian priests of Hamayk', a province of Syrian Mesopotamia, "who were ill-advisedly disputing" with Syrian Christians there over certain Armenian customs including *matal* — of whose active practice they, unlike Balsamon, had no doubt⁹⁷. Here again non-Armenian parallels to *matal* are relevant. While Byzantine omissions and ambiguities may have been influenced by the existence of their own formularies for animal sacrifice, Nersēs defended *matal* not only on the authority of Gregory the Illuminator, as the Apostolic Church invariably did, but also asserted that Gregory did not hesitate to gain the "sons of the priests" for Christianity by adapting their traditional sacrifices, because at least in the sacrifice of the paschal lamb he had before him the example of the "Roman", that is the Byzantine Church — just as "at present" that same paschal sacrifice was being kept up throughout Europe even more assiduously than among the Armenians, a roast lamb being regularly placed under the altar and divided among the people after the Easter liturgy⁹⁸. This assertion was presumably inspired by accounts, however exaggerated, of those or similar sacrificial prayers and rituals' to be found outside the Armenian communities, which have been described.

While one factor in reactions to *matal* could thus have been the influence of the existence of similar customs on the ways in which it was attacked or defended, another unquestionably was the constant emphasis laid by its opponents on its allegedly Jewish character. It has been noticed that this was the major emphasis of the accusations brought not only by Isaac, the self-styled catholicus' or by Euthymius Zigabenus, the specialist in heresies. Those who ignored or denied for whatever reason that animals were actually sacrificed on occasions prescribed by the Apostolic Church, yet would censure the apportioning of the flesh of animals slaughtered perhaps with no special rite, as in

⁹⁷ See CAPPELLETTI, p. 25.

⁹⁸ CAPPELLETTI, p. 45-46; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 82.

accordance with Jewish custom. In one form or another, this emphasis was to persist for centuries. No one ever chose to attack *matal*, or one of its constituent elements, as allegedly a relic of pagan superstition.

It is hard to believe, on the face of it, that no Byzantine theologian had heard at least something of its traditional origin. It has been suggested (in quite a different context) that the Byzantines, while enthusiasts of anti-heretical polemic, showed little interest in the history of the sects which were its subject, remaining content with somewhat vague notions in that respect; they were especially vague about the history of the Armenian Church before the outbreak of the monophysite controversy, relying almost entirely on a single work the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, one of the very few original Armenian sources which had been translated into Greek⁹⁹. If that were so, ignorance of the Armenian tradition on *matal* would not be surprising, since in that work Gregory the Illuminator himself got only a bare mention¹⁰⁰.

However that may be, it is even harder to believe that the Syrian Christians with whom Armenian clergy had been "ill-advisedly disputing", who lived cheek by jowl with Armenians, as had their ancestors before them, had also not heard the story of Gregory the Illuminator and the "sons of the priests". Yet they too attacked *matal* as Jewish, no less than the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* and Euthymius Zigabenus: those who practised it, they declared, adhered like the Jews to the old covenant¹⁰¹. One reason for these repeated allegations could have been some knowledge of the emphasis placed in the rite itself on the connection between *matal* and the sacrifices of the Jews, although a greater knowledge would have shown that the differences between the two were made no less plain — for example, the emphasis on burnt sacrifices, that is on those where there had been no priestly portion, the absence of references — surely no accident — to the sacrifice of Passover in the service of the Easter *matal*. Another reason, however, might well be found in certain arguments Nersēs advanced to defend *matal* against these allegations of Jewishness.

He began unexceptionably enough by a simple comparison of the Passover sacrifice and the Easter *matal* where he had no difficulty in showing that the Armenians were certainly not copying the Jews¹⁰².

⁹⁹ See GRUMEL, p. 188. G. GARITTE, *Scripta disjecta* I, p. 114-118 has shown how the *Narratio* has been falsely ascribed by modern editors to "Isaac Catholicus".

¹⁰⁰ *Isaaci Catholici Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, MPG vol. 132, col. 1237C. Critical text and Commentary by G. GARITTE, CSCO 132 Subsidia 4, Louvain 1952.

¹⁰¹ CAPPELLETTI, p. 38; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 78.

¹⁰² CAPPELLETTI, p. 39; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 78.

He then pointed out that whereas Jewish sacrifices had been only for the benefit of the living, the Armenians sacrificed for the benefit of both the living and the dead¹⁰³. It was only after he had made those distinctions that he reminded his opponents in what circumstances *matal* had been established. Here again it was necessary to refute accusations of Judaizing. The priestly portions enjoined by Gregory had nothing to do with the portions the Jewish priests had once received; rather, they were analogous to the tithes commanded in Leviticus, a commandment which all Christians accepted — as they accepted other commandments of the old covenant when they pre-figured those of the new¹⁰⁴. However, there was another allegedly Jewish element of *matal* which needed justification. The necessity of distinguishing between birds or animals fit for sacrifice and those unfit has been remarked upon. That distinction had been originally drawn between sacrificial victims of the pre-Christian rite and those to be used in the rite as established by Gregory. It was a distinction that became so firmly rooted that it was reflected in the language: while there were words which might refer either to *matal* or to the sacrifice of the eucharist, there were others which could only refer to pagan sacrifices¹⁰⁵.

Now, the actual distinction adopted between fit and unfit sacrificial victims under the new dispensation, between clean and unclean animals or birds, was that prescribed in Jewish law¹⁰⁶. Nersēs unreservedly defended this distinction, explaining it exactly as it had been explained by Moses: those animals or birds fit for sacrifice were those which God had pronounced fit for ordinary eating. For Christians, said Nersēs, the only exception was the pig which could not be sacrificed but could be eaten: the pig had been declared fit for eating by the apostles so that the faithful might be separated from "the synagogue of the Jews"¹⁰⁷. Apart from that single exception, insisted Nersēs, with a wealth of quotation and interpretation not always convincing, there was nothing in the New Testament which abrogated this distinction between the clean and the unclean. Thus, the saying that not

¹⁰³ CAPPELLETTI, p. 39; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴ CAPPELLETTI, p. 40-41; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 79-80.

¹⁰⁵ See E. BENVENISTE, "Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice", *Journal Asiatique* 252 (1964), p. 46-51.

¹⁰⁶ See TIXERONT, p. 82.

¹⁰⁷ CAPPELLETTI, p. 43; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 80-81.

what went into the mouth but what went out of it could defile a man (*Matthew* XV.11) only referred to the saying that a meal was not defiled if the ritual washing of hands before it were omitted (*ibid.*, verses 17-20). The episode of the sheet full of unclean and clean animals and birds, fish and reptiles offered Peter with the command, "Arise, Peter, kill and eat" (*Acts of the Apostles*, X.10-17) merely symbolised and foretold how Peter's mission would destroy the faith of pagans who worshipped such creatures¹⁰⁸. Perhaps himself not wholly at ease with his enthusiastic defence of Jewish dietary laws, Nersēs then interpolated into the argument more examples of how undoubtedly Easter *matal* differed from the Jewish Passover¹⁰⁹.

However, here he had to acknowledge the truth of one accusation brought by Isaac, the self-styled catholicus: there were those who did smear their doorposts with the blood of the paschal lamb — but these were only "certain foolish people" who, by following this Jewish custom, rendered themselves liable to an anathema¹¹⁰. It may be that this was indeed so, quite probably the Apostolic Church did frown upon this custom and could not be held responsible for it, or be accused of Jewish inclinations because of it. Similarly, whatever Jewish inclinations could have been ascribed to the way in which Nersēs explained the distinction between the clean and the unclean, it is quite probable that the only explicit law for Armenians in existence was one adopted by a fourth century synod which repeated Paul's injunction (*Acts of the Apostles*, XV. 20, XXI.25) to abstain from things strangled and from blood¹¹¹. Nersēs, of course, also accepted this injunction as part, if only part, of the dietary law, but here again, when rebuking certain "less educated people" who kept the blood of the paschal lamb and sometimes drank it, he thought it necessary to show that the New Testament, far from contradicting the Old, confirmed God's command to Noah not to eat the flesh of an animal together with its blood¹¹². However, whether the full dietary law as understood by Nersēs was ever the norm for Armenians or no, his

¹⁰⁸ CAPPELLETTI, p. 46-49; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 83 (much abbreviated).

¹⁰⁹ CAPPELLETTI, p. 45; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 82.

¹¹⁰ CAPPELLETTI, p. 49; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 83.

¹¹¹ PAWSTOS BUZAND, *CHAMA*, p. 239; cf. TOURNEBIZE, *ROC* 13 (1908), p. 79; when the Persians tried to bring back paganism in the middle of the fifth century one of their decrees sought to compel the eating of meat contrary to that injunction; see BENVENISTE, p. 51-3.

¹¹² CAPPELLETTI, p. 49; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 83.

insistence on the New Testament never contradicting it (apart from the one solitary exception), and on the choice of sacrificial victims being strictly governed by that dietary law, could not but have strengthened suspicions of the Jewish character of *matal*, suspicions which the smearing of doorposts with the blood of the paschal lamb, even if rebuked by the clergy, did nothing to remove. It was this, together with what may have been known of the sacrificial prayers and readings, which may explain why *matal* was attacked for this Jewish character it was supposed to possess — and not for its pagan origins — with a vehemence and consistency somewhat beyond the standard accusations of Judaizing common enough in theological polemic.

Such a conclusion is supported by similar allegations repeated some two hundred years after Nersēs. In 1341, the pope Benedict XII ordered an inquiry into the orthodoxy of Armenians who had been persuaded, largely by promises of help from the west against the Ottomans, to leave their Apostolic Church and declare themselves united with western catholicism. In 1342, under his successor Clement VI, a unionist synod was held at Sis, the capital of Cilician Armenia, which was required to answer 117 accusations of heretical beliefs or customs¹¹³. Among them, *matal* was once again attacked as Jewish: Armenians sacrificed animals for the repose of the dead and these animals were clean “according to the law of Moses”; moreover, while Armenians might accept that Christ’s blood was shed for the remission of sins, yet such remission could not be gained, they believed, either for the living or for the dead, unless these sacrificial victims were also offered¹¹⁴. And then the framers of the accusations joined to their attack on *matal* an attack on the same dietary laws which Nersēs had been at pains to defend, the law he too had thought inseparable from that governing the choice of the sacrificial victim: “the said Armenians”, they alleged, “keep the dietary distinction between clean and unclean animals according to what the law of Moses says”¹¹⁵.

The unionists replied, just as had Nersēs, by recounting the traditional origin of *matal* which had nothing Jewish about it, and by stressing, as he had, that Jewish sacrifices had been for the benefit of the living and never for the dead; as for *matal* on other occasions, that was

¹¹³ See J. GAY, *Le Pape Clement VI et les affaires d'Orient (1342-1352)*, Paris (1904), p. 140-141.

¹¹⁴ MANSI, vol. 25, col. 1227E, 1228D.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 1229C.

merely the traditional way of distributing alms — and what had that to do with Jewish sacrifices¹¹⁶? But in their concern to refute accusations of Judaizing once and for all, they went further, directly contradicting Nersēs: it was not true, they claimed, that sacrificial victims were chosen according to the law of Moses — they had never seen or heard of such a custom. It may have existed somewhere or other among the ignorant; if it had (and of this they knew nothing) it was to-day nowhere to be found¹¹⁷. It might be that Armenians would not eat certain birds or animals; if so, it was not because of a Mosaic restriction but because of their own long established eating habits. In principle, Armenians accepted the apostolic ruling that all creatures of God were good — all had been made clean by the word of God¹¹⁸. If there were monks, they added for good measure, who refused to eat pork on religious grounds and not because they kept anyway to a vegetarian diet, such were probably not to be found other than outside the frontiers of Cilicia where the clergy of the kingdom had no jurisdiction¹¹⁹. Nothing of *matal*, any more than of any other custom, for which they could be held responsible should offend the orthodox¹²⁰.

But Clement was unimpressed by their arguments. In 1351 he asked the same question about *matal* and dietary laws and was given the same answer. Armenians unreservedly accepted that the new dispensation had abolished the distinction between the clean and the unclean; whereupon he asked mockingly whether, since they so emphatically proclaimed their rejection of the words of Moses, they might even prefer the hitherto unclean as actually better for the souls of the dead. In any event, why should the sacrifice of whatever animal be preferable to the simple distribution of wine, bread, or any other victuals if it was really only a matter of alms for the poor¹²¹? Thus the unionists had completely failed to convince the papacy of Armenian orthodoxy in the matter of *matal*: the belief that it bore, at the least, a suspicious likeness to Jewish sacrifices remained as strong as it had ever been, persisting into relatively modern times.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 1228E.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 1228C.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 1229C.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1229D.

¹²⁰ Cf. GAY, p. 143-144.

¹²¹ See RAYNALDUS ODORICUS, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 6 (1750), p. 532; cf. TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 689.

A leading light of the Holy Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith, the monk Clemente Galano (died 1666), whose special task was, once more, to expose the errors of the Armenians and persuade them to unite with Rome, was quite sure of the Jewishness of *matal* both in its origin and in its observance. What was being performed, he told the Armenians, was not just some sacrificial ceremony or other, but the veritable one which had obtained among the Jews, a ceremony which, at Easter, even included the smearing of the doorposts with the blood of the paschal lamb. Perhaps because then it had been implicitly agreed that this particular custom had never been a genuine part of *matal*, as Nersēs had pointed out, Clement had not mentioned it, nor had it been mentioned at the Synod of Sis; but now Galano claimed that too: since Temple sacrifice had lost its validity through Christ's sacrifice, those who persisted in the former, with all its concomitants, particularly the smearing of the doorposts, could not be admitted to the latter. Those who practised *matal*, he declared, exactly as had the so-called Isaac Catholicus centuries earlier, were not Christians and could not be permitted to partake of the eucharist. And such Armenians were even worse than the Jews: unworthy of the name of Christian, they also did not keep the laws of Moses¹²². Some sixty years after Galano, in a polemic actually against the Jews (supposedly of ninth century origin) it was alleged that Easter *matal* was a substitute for Easter mass and that the smearing of doorposts was part of every *matal* ceremony, while at the beginning of the present century that ceremony was roundly stated to be the result of Jewish influence — not in the least a survival of pagan sacrifice¹²³.

In contrast to those constant accusations of Judaising, it has been remarked how striking it was that nobody alleged *matal* to contain any other non-Christian elements. Yet such allegations could easily have been made, and that not only about its origins. When Nersēs rebuked those "less educated" who collected the blood of the sacrifice for future consumption, knowingly or unknowingly he was rebuking what was a survival of paganism, a practice which had been widespread in classical antiquity when this blood was sometimes supposed to have

¹²² C. GALANO, *Conciliationis ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana pars secunda*, vol. 2, Rome (1661), p. 413-424.

¹²³ J. BASNAGE, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum*, Antwerp (1725), vol. 2, part 3, p. 49; P. LEJAY, "Ancienne philologie chrétienne", *Revue de l'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 8 (1903), p. 592-3.

had curative powers¹²⁴. The drinking of the blood was also part of the ritual in certain sacrifices among Arab tribes before the coming of Islam — and after, despite repeated prohibitions in the *Ku'rān*¹²⁵. Among other non-Christian customs of which the Armenian clergy constantly complained, were those which for long continued to disfigure the agape after a *matal* for the repose of souls: the cutting of their hair and the scoring of their faces with fingernails by relatives of the dead; the heart-rending howling by professional mourners, liable instantly and unpredictably to change into wild shrieks of joy¹²⁶.

If these non-Christian practices were some of those which Gregory's adaptation of animal sacrifice was meant to eradicate, there was another such which, according to the codified ritual, constituted an integral part of the ceremony: the decorating of the sacrificial victim. It had been the Greek and Roman practice for the head and neck of the victim to be elaborately garlanded as an outward and visible sign of its perfection, of its freedom from all blemish¹²⁷. A similar custom existed among the Arabs both before and after the coming of Islām; it was also not uncommon among them to cover the victim with a cloth — under the caliph 'Umar I (634-644) it was said with a cloth of fine Egyptian linen¹²⁸. Here again, although there was no parallel in Jewish sacrifices with the solitary exception of the red thread of the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement, the practice of adorning the sacrificial victim was none the less stigmatised as Jewish, and in this instance no less by the defenders of *matal* than by its opponents. Nersēs, who could well have been aware of the Muslim parallel if not of the pagan one, yet denounced the practice as having been "set in the rubric by ignorant priests according to the old law, by no means to be implemented, since it is quite unnecessary and a cause for scandal"¹²⁹. At Sis it was

¹²⁴ See W. O. E. OESTERLEY, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel*. London (1937), p. 31; W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London (1894), p. 381, note 2.

¹²⁵ See ROBERTSON SMITH, p. 314-315, p. 338; J. CHELHOD, *Les Sacrifices chez les Arabes*, Paris (1955), p. 175-176, 189-190 (*Kur'an* II.173, V. 3, VI.146, XVI.115).

¹²⁶ See ANANIKIAN, p. 95-96; Tisdall, p. 103-104; CONYBEARE, *RHR* p. 113.

¹²⁷ See e.g. ARISTOTELES, *Fragmenta* 108, ed. V. ROSE, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Leipzig (1866), no. 101, p. 98-99.

¹²⁸ *Kur'an* V. 2, V. 97; see MAWLANI MUHAMMAD 'ALI, *The Holy Qur'an*, Lahore (1935), p. 251, note 659.

¹²⁹ CAPPELLETTI, p. 50; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 84; on the red thread of the scapegoat as a supposed precedent, see TIXERONT, p. 87, note 1.

included in the accusations of Judaising and so, not unnaturally, was claimed by the unionists to be one of the practices of which they had never heard¹³⁰.

Lastly, there was the salt which the victim was made to eat — the salt with its special blessing in the codified ritual¹³¹. According to Armenian tradition, Gregory himself introduced this use of salt in order immediately to distinguish Christian from pagan sacrifices¹³². At Sis, the unionists declared that salt was used at Gregory's command in reply to the accusation that this custom, too, was Jewish¹³³. In fact, the use of salt in sacrifices, although the reasons for it differed, was practically universal. It was certainly an essential requirement in the Jewish rite — "with all thy sacrifices shalt thou offer salt"¹³⁴. But it was no less essential in the rites of the Greeks, of the Romans, and throughout the pagan near east¹³⁵.

The truth of the matter was that *matal*, as many another Christian custom, included elements from a diversity of sources, which, whether accepted by the official church or only by "the less educated", in the end made of it something specifically Armenian with deep roots in the life of the people. Its practice persisted long after the periods discussed here. Conybeare found it being practised at the beginning of the present century and noticed, too, as did Tixeront a little later, how its practice had spread to other Christian communities in Georgia, Syria and Mesopotamia¹³⁶. It was then not unknown among Catholic Armenians, although they were often quick to point out that their *matal*, "the only authentic version", required no more than the butchering of the animal with the minimum of ceremony, followed by the immediate distribution of its flesh in alms to the crowds who would immediately gather for that purpose¹³⁷. Within the Apostolic Church,

¹³⁰ MANSI, vol. 25, cols. 1227E, 1228C.

¹³¹ See /bove, p. 426.

¹³² KIRAKOS ch. 2 (Brosset, p. 7); VARDAN, p. 51; cf. CAPPELLETTI, p. 40; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 79.

¹³³ MANSI, vol. 25, col. 1227A, 1228B.

¹³⁴ LEVITICUS, II.3; for references to salt in the Jewish rite, see L.I. RABINOWITZ, "Salt", *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 14 (1971), cols. 710-711.

¹³⁵ Cf. e.g. "ante aras spargisque mola caput improbe sala", HORATIUS FLACCI *Satirae* II.iii.200; P. VERGILII MARONIS *Eclogeae* VIII.81-85; see A.E. CRAWLEY, "Salt", *ERE* vol. 8, p. 592.

¹³⁶ See CONYBEARE, *Key of Truth*, p. cxxviii; ID., *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 80, note a, p. 84, note d; cf. Tixeront, p. 88.

¹³⁷ See TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 592-593; M.D. GIRARD, "Les 'Madag' ou sacrifices arméniens", *ROC* 7 (1902), p. 411-413.

meanwhile. *matal* had acquired an added public importance, becoming the focus of intercessionary prayers in times of drought, famine or other disaster. On the occasion of a drought that struck Marsivan (about 150 miles north-east of Ankara) in 1887. the chosen victim, elaborately decorated, was taken in procession led by a choir, accompanied by the local notables and followed by the townspeople. It was brought to the door of the church where it was received by the chief clergy when, after the ceremonial rite had been celebrated, it was sacrificed on the tomb, said to be of three martyrs, in the town's cemetery¹³⁸. On such an occasion, those who could took the blood to smear the doorposts of their houses, just as they had done in the past, though the smear might often be in the shape of a cross¹³⁹.

Yet this was no longer the world of Sahak or of Nerses, not even the world of Galano. Armenians in the United States begged the Catholicus to discourage his flock from this "barbarous behaviour". He responded by an instruction that *matal* be only practised in villages and in those, moreover, exclusively inhabited by Apostolic Church members; this was not the first instruction of its kind, and *matal* did gradually become restricted in this way¹⁴⁰. However, this restriction did not cause *matal* to die out: Conybeare and Tixeront had not merely seen its last examples. It was being practised in Turkish Armenia at least as late as the First World War¹⁴¹. It is no less remarkable that in those later years the codified ritual, the Canon of Dominical Blessing, had scarcely changed. It had however, acquired an additional invocation: "Thou has deigned to accept, o Lord, that our nation hath worshipped thee by preparing feasts and by offering sacrifices"¹⁴². It cannot be forgotten that in those days many of that nation were themselves being cruelly sacrificed. Their sufferings then (and later) might well recall the cry of an Armenian martyr more than a thousand years before: "Lord, to-day, St. George's Day, I have been used to offer you a ram; now, in place of that sacrifice, I am offering myself for the glory of thy name"¹⁴³.

¹³⁸ See GIRARD, p. 415-416, p. 417.

¹³⁹ See GIRARD, p. 419; CONYBEARE, *RHR* p. 112.

¹⁴⁰ See GIRARD, p. 417-418; TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 592.

¹⁴¹ See N.E. & H. BUXTON, *Travels and Politics in Armenia*. London (1914), p. 77-78.

¹⁴² See GIRARD, p. 415.

¹⁴³ See BORÉ, p. 132.

BYZANTINE ORTHODOXY AND THE “PRELIMINARY FAST” OF THE ARMENIANS

Byzantine hostility towards the Armenian Church was chiefly expressed, as is well enough known, in the centuries of dispute from the time when the Armenians, at first immersed in their own affairs, came to hear at the beginning of the sixth century what the doctrine was on the nature of Christ pronounced at the Council of Chalcedon¹. However, by then, there also existed Armenian rites and customs which would provoke disputes hardly less diverse than theological differences. One such custom, known to exist at least from the end of the fourth or from the beginning of the fifth century, was the fast of *arajavor*, meaning the “first” or “preliminary fast”². It was observed in the week preceding the Sunday called ἁσώτου (“of the Prodigal Son”) by the Byzantines — the Septuagesima of the Latins. By the Armenians it was called “Penultimate Sunday” because it was two Sundays back from the Sunday (the Latin Quinquagesima) following which Lent began³. The fast of *arajavor* was observed from the Monday of its week; it ended on the Friday, when special prayers commemorated the preaching of Jonah to the people of Niniveh. On the Saturday was celebrated the feast of St. Sergius, by whose name, in its Armenian form “Sarkis”, the whole week of *arajavor* was often known. There followed two weeks of complete freedom from fasting, the period of so-

* *Abbreviations:*

MPG: J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca-latina*, 165 vols., Paris (1857 - 1886).

Mansi: J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et embleissima collectio* 31 vols, Florence & Venice (1759 - 1798).

1. See e.g. M. Ormanian, *The Church in Armenia*, London (1912), pp. 34 - 35; Serapie Der Nersesian, *Armenians and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge (1947), p. 38.

2. i. e. ՎԼՎԳՎԼԼԼԼ - transliteration according to R. Godel, *An Introduction to the Study of Classical Armenian*, Wiesbaden (1975), p. 9; his symbol “j” corresponds to the English “j” as in joy.

3. See comparative tables in V. Grumel, *La Chronologie (Traité d'études byzantines)*, ed. P. Lemerle, vol. 1), Paris (1958), p. 320, pp. 328 - 329.

called "carnival" (*barekendan*) which separated the arajavor fast from Lent⁴. The Armenians were not alone in fasting that week. A similar five day fast, called by them the "Fast of the Ninivites" was kept by the monophysites of Egypt and Syria — the Copts and the Jacobites — and by Nestorian congregations. The Copts called the Thursday of their fast the "Passover of the Ninivites" in commemoration of the Lord's forbearance towards Niniveh; the Nestorians, in the same sense, called that Thursday "The Day of the Act of Grace"⁵. The Jacobites ended their fast with a memorial service for departed clergy⁶. Yet it was only against the Armenians that Byzantine attacks were directed for this custom of fasting in the week preceding the Sunday of the Prodigal Son. It was not accidental, such attacks would assert in their more aggressive form, that the fast of arajavor and the commemoration of Sergius were so intimately connected. The word "arajavor", ordinarily *artziburion* in Greek⁷, had originally, it was alleged, not been the name of a fast at all but that of a dog while Sergius, to whom the Saturday following the fast or perhaps the whole fast was dedicated, had been that dog's master. And this Sergius, far from having been a saint, had been a notorious preacher of heresy. Now, it had been his wont as he approached some town or village in the course of spreading his heresy, to send his dog preliminary to his arrival — hence its name — so that the inhabitants might be warned and make suitable preparations to receive him. The dog was his "forerunner". Perhaps the intention also was to allege a blasphemous imitation of Jesus and John the Baptist. Such an allegation could have been inspired by some knowledge of a passage in the canons of the catholicus, or Armenian patriarch, Sahak (Isaac I, c. 387 - c. 439), a passage possibly meaning that in his day it had been John the Baptist who was commemorated at the end of the arajavor⁸. In any event, the story went on to relate how on one occasion Sergius discovered that the dog had not arrived, and learnt to his

4. See Tondini de Quarenghi, "Notices sur le calendrier liturgique de la nation arménienne", *Bessarione*, série 2, vol. 9 (1906), p. 284, série 3, vol. 1 (1906), p. 75 and note 2.

5. Grumel, p. 333, p. 341.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

7. See C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatatis*, Lyons (1688), vol. 1, p. 126; cf. J. Gouillard, "Gagik II défenseur de la foi arménienne", *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979), p. 413, note 82.

8. See F. C. Conybeare, "The Armenian Canons of St. Sahak, Catholicos of Armenia", *American Journal of Theology* 2 (1898), p. 842; cf. *Idem*, *The Key of Truth*, Oxford (1898), p. lxxxv; Ormanian, p. 166.

sorrow that it had been devoured by a wolf. He thereupon instituted a five day fast of mourning in its name.

The story of Sergius and his dog was frequently told. It appeared, for example, perhaps towards the middle of the twelfth century, perhaps rather earlier, in the course of a diatribe against his former coreligionists by a certain Isaac, self-styled catholicus, a convert to Byzantine orthodoxy⁹. It was repeated, with slight variations, in a didactic poem on the correct observance of fasts by the Byzantine patriarch Lucas Chrysoberges (1156 - 1169)¹⁰. Sergius and his dog also enjoyed a sort of official status. Their story appeared, exactly as Isaac told it, in a chapter on various Armenian beliefs and practices among the many chapters of the *Panoplia*, a work compiled at the behest of the emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081 - 1118), who wished to have a complete description of all the heresies supposedly threatening orthodoxy as understood at Constantinople¹¹. The story of Sergius and his dog was not the only reason the Byzantines gave for attacking the fast. According to Anastasius, archbishop of Caesarea in Palestine towards the end of the end of the eleventh century, it was disgraceful, apart from Sergius and his dog, that it should be kept at all because in the first place it was completely invalid: it had not been authorised by the Apostles, the Fathers, or at the Council of Nicea. It was also an absurdity because the Armenians themselves could not agree why they kept it. While it might well be for a little dog which had belonged to a bishop of theirs, there were some who believed that it was in memory of a certain Sergius or Argius, without knowing more of him than his name; some believed that it was in mourning for Adam in memory of his expulsion from paradise, some that they were commemorating the fast of the Ninivites, while there were some who fasted without knowing or caring what the reasons might have been¹². Isaac Catholicus repeated these contradictory explanations,

9. *Isaaci Armeniae Catholici oratio inveciva I adversus Armenios*, MPG vol. 132, col. 1204B; on Isaac's alleged catholicate, see N. G. Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy* Paris — The Hague (1967), p. 104, note 86; F. Tournèze, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, Paris (1910), p. 247, note 1; on the date of the *oratio*, see Gouillard, p. 414 and note 85.

10. *Lucae Chrysobergis Cp. Patriarchæ De Dietae*, ed. K. Duovouniotis, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων (1922), p. 205 line 170 - p. 206, line 189.

11. *Euthemii Zigabeni Panoplia Dogmatica*, MPG vol. 130, col. 1189A - C; on Alexius in this context, see F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I-er Comnène (Les Comnènes, vol. 1)*, Paris (1900), pp. 316 - 320.

12. *Anastasio episcopi Caesariensis De impia pessimorum Armeniorum religione*, MPG vol. 1, cols. 657B-D; *Idem, De jejunio SS Deiparae*, MPG vol. 127, col. 521B.

and added for good measure how there were Armenians to be found who believed that this fast of theirs had something to do with the baptism of Constantine the Great¹³. It was not surprising, and hardly a matter for blame, if Armenians no less than other congregations kept a custom without the need of an explanation, but simply because their church had so ordained it, nor that their should have been different traditions attached to it. The Byzantines themselves were confused over the one seemingly indisputable point — exactly when it was held: some thought there were two fasts — one held before Theophany (the Armenian Epiphany), and another for the Ninivites held either “during the first of the two meatless weeks”, that is after ἀπόκρεως (Sexagesima) Sunday, actually the second week of the Armenian “carnival”¹⁴, or in the week before it — this latter on no less an authority than the famous twelfth century canonist Theodore Balsamon¹⁵. On one point, of course, the Byzantines had no doubts: this fast, whenever it took place and whatever its title, was to be unreservedly denounced. There were those, indeed, who held that it was one of the customs against which a specific anathema had to be delivered by every prospective Armenian convert to Chalcedon¹⁶. In order, however, to consider the particular accusation that the arajavor was nothing but the commemoration of a heretic and his dog, it is first necessary to recall what origins and aims Armenians did ascribe to it, as distinct from those ascribed by their Byzantine opponents.

It is true that, while not unnaturally at one in denying the Byzantine story of Sergius, Armenians did give different explanations of what the fast was really about. In 1064, Gagik II of Kars ended his “Profession of Faith” addressed to the emperor Constantine X with a fervent defence of the fast, “because the Romans (i.e. Byzantines) are deeply at odds with our people over this question, which has produced disharmony and frequent disputes”. Yet this fast was no different from that of Lent: “the ancients, aware of the weakness of human nature, did nothing but separate it from the latter”. This, declared Gagik, was sufficient explanation of its establishment. But it had another meaning: it was said to be in expiation

13. *Isaaci Armeniae Catholici oratio invectiva II adversus Armenios*, MPG vol., 132, col. 1233C.

14. *Niconis Monaci De jejuniis SS Deiparae*, MPG vol. 127, col. 529B.

15. *Theodori Balsamoni, Zonarae Aristeni commentaria in Canones SS Apostolorum, Conciliorum et in epistolas canonicas SS Patrum*, Responsum LXIX, MPG vol. 137, col. 177A.

16. See *Isaaci Armeniae Catholici De Rebus Armeniae*, MPG vol. 132, cols. 1260D - 1261A.

of the transgression of man through his five senses in the terrestrial paradise. It was this transgression which was the cause of the first and fundamental fast practised by Christians, leading to a higher abstinence — that of Lent¹⁷. Gagik added two more meanings: that the fast was a reminder of how the Ninivites fasted for five days in atonement for their sins thus saving their city from destruction, and of how St. Cyril, "patriarch of Jerusalem", ordained meditation through a five day fast before receiving baptism. There were yet more reasons for the fast, but they were superfluous: to mention them, he feared, "would only be boring". In any event, no one could be blameworthy for an abstinence of five days¹⁸. It was true, he continued, that the Saturday immediately after the fast was celebrated as a saint's day, but this had nothing to do with the Sarkis called "the donkey driver who caused his dog to be worshipped". The celebration was in honour of St. Sarkis the Martyr, "sacrificed by the descendants of Hagar, the children of Muhammad, in the land of Bagrevant during the reign of Theodosius". Gagik finished his profession with this appeal: "May all our words be heard as a clear profession of faith, and thus also those which we have here spoken on the subject of the fast in the first week after Septuagesima, a fast peculiarly ours. We have been firm in that belief until to-day, and we shall persist in it until the end, now and forever"¹⁹. It cannot but be noticed that in the course of defending the arajavor Gagik was guilty of strange errors. It is difficult to offer an explanation for his placing the fast, which he presumably kept himself, in the week following Septuagesima Sunday instead of in the week preceding it. Then, his heretical Sarkis or Sergius who not only owned a dog but drove a donkey too does not seem to have appeared in Byzantine accusations. Again, there was his contention that during the reign of the emperor Theodosius I (379 - 395) — or of Theodosius II (408 - 450) — there were to be found not only Arabs, in itself not impossible, but Muslim Arabs in central Armenia, Bagrevand was a province between Lake Van and the Araxes river, and that it was they who were responsible for the martyrdom of Sergius. It may have been that here Gagik was relying on an account by the catholicus Hovhannes (John) I Mandakouni (478 - 490) according to which Sergius had been

17. Matthew of Edessa, ch. 93; trans. E. Dulaurier, *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse (962 - 1136)*, p. 149.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

martyred by "the king of the Arabs" whom Gagik proceeded to call "the children of Muhammad" untroubled by any anachronism²⁰. Lastly, Cyril was the bishop of Jerusalem (348/9 - 387) and not her patriarch, since the patriarchate was only established after the Council of Chalcedon.

It has therefore to be asked in the light of these errors how much should Gagik's defence itself be trusted; how far, in the first place, can his various explanations of the fast, of its origins and purpose, be supported from other Armenian sources. Explanations of the fast are to be found in a tenth century commentary on the *tonapatchar*, or Armenian lectionary, explanations which draw on earlier traditions²¹. According to one such, Cyril of Jerusalem baptised on the Nativity and the Epiphany of Christ. It was then that he prepared converts for baptism, it was then that the Cross appeared and numbers of the faithful declared their wish to be baptised. Cyril welcomed them and instituted a fast of three weeks before Lent began. But because the laity complained of the punishing length of Lent, Cyril was forced to reduce the length of the fast by two weeks of carnival (*barekendan*)²². Another explanation had it that Cyril fixed the length of his pre-Lenten fast when he was baptising his converts, but following a protest from a particular group of them: when he demanded a three week fast before Lent, there were Jews among them "who protested that the Christian religion was too severe — they had to fast for half the year. Made aware of this, the saintly bishop, while keeping the first of the supplementary weeks imposed, authorised the breaking of the fast during the two others. Such was the origin of the week of the fast arajavor and of the two weeks of abundance or carnival"²³. A third, quite different, explanation was given in a "History of St. Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem", — part of a *tonakan*, or "Book of Feasts" (the subject of the *tonapatchar*) — according to which the intention had been not to purify the souls of the newly baptised, or of those about to be baptised, but to ensure that Lent was properly kept:

20. See Gouillard, p. 415, note 97; for Mandakouni's account, see P. Peeters, "La passion arménienne de S. Serge le Stratélate", *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 27) Brussels (1951), pp. 30 - 31.

21. For probable authors and dates of recension, see C. Renoux, "Les fêtes et les Saints de l'Église arménienne" de N. Adontz", *Revue des études arméniennes* 14 (1980), pp. 292 - 294 and note 19, p. 295; on the *tonapatchar* see p. 288, note 4; cf. N. Adontz, as cited here, in *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, 6/26(1927 - 28), p. 94.

22. Renoux, pp. 295 - 296, and see his notes 31, 32 & 33; Adontz, pp. 87 - 88.

23. Renoux, p. 296, note 35.

"St. Cyril ordained seven week of Lent; ten weeks had been ordained by the holy apostles: from the preliminary (sc. fast) until Easter — seventy days. But they were voluntary: for whomsoever it was hard to fast, and for whomsoever it was impossible, they were not obligatory. Now St. Cyril ordained two weeks of carnival and seven weeks of holy fasting; because of this all Christians accepted it and do fast in holiness"²⁴.

Presumably the result of Cyril's reform as described here if not explicitly stated, was the same as that given in other explanations: after Theophany and before Lent there would be one week of fasting and two of "abundance". It will be seen, therefore, that the commentary and the "History" together can support both Gagik's chief defence — that the arajavor was essentially no more than part of Lent and — for Gagik a relatively minor argument — that it was instituted by Cyril of Jerusalem on the occasion of his baptisms.

To what extent do these explanations reflect a historical reality? There can be no doubt that the arajavor was thought of as a part of Lent. It heralded its approach: this was one reason why it was called the "preliminary" fast. During its course homilies proper to Lent would begin to be delivered while in place of the eucharist, which could not be celebrated on fast days, psalms and passages from the scriptures would be read at midday according to the Lenten order²⁵. There was, moreover, also an indication that at some time, in some congregations, arajavor had really been continuous with Lent: in the eighth century there were still Armenians known to observe an arajavor of three weeks²⁶. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that a custom resulting in an unbroken ten weeks of fasting would be too rigorous a one for the majority even though, as was generally accepted, fasting was less strict on Saturdays and Sundays. However, the claim that it was Cyril who had ameliorated the hardship, as a concession to converts or otherwise, is one rather weakened by the unreliability of its sources in other respects. Thus, as has already been noticed, Cyril could

24. E. Bihain, "Une vie arménienne de S. Cyrille de Jérusalem", *Le Muséon* 76 (1963), p. 347; on the apostolic origins of Lent, see *ibid.*, p. 333; Adontz, p. 257.

25. See N. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis academii clericorum accommodatum*, Innsbruck (1897), vol. 2, p. 559; cf. F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford (1905) p. 508.

26. See Renoux, p. 300, note 58.

not have been a patriarch. It is true that the story of his missionary successes helped by the appearance of the cross, his particular success with Jewish converts together with the reason why they might have complained as they were supposed to have done, and the custom of imposing a fast on the occasion of baptism, are all supported, directly or indirectly, by other sources²⁷. But nowhere else are these events connected with the Feast of Theophany²⁸. On the contrary, the appearance of the cross to Cyril was celebrated by the Armenian Church on the fourth Sunday after Easter²⁹. Finally, the very commentary which credited Cyril with the establishment of the fast, also reported the contradictory claim that it was not he but "James the first bishop (of Jerusalem) and brother of our Lord who established the week of arajavor, which people think to attribute to Cyril who occupied the same see"³⁰. It is probable that both claims arose from a deeply rooted, if not always a consistent tradition that not only the arajavor, but many other elements of Armenian ritual or custom had had their core in Jerusalem, whence they had been received in their completed form either from James or from Cyril, her most famous bishops³¹.

In any event, Gagik had proposed two further explanations. One referred to what has already been mentioned — that Armenians did thus commemorate the fast of the Ninivites, an element of the arajavor sufficiently well known to attract the attention of its detractors. The other, however, was as far as we know entirely original: that the five days of strict fasting corresponded to the five bodily senses through which man had first sinned. Perhaps it was this explanation which inspired Anastasius of Caesarea and Isaac Catholicus to attribute to Armenians the belief that the fast was kept in mourning for Adam's expulsion from paradise. But it is harder to guess what it was that had inspired Gagik. There are in-

27. See e.g. *Sancti Cyrilli epistola ad Constantinum*, MPG vol. 33, col., 1169B; *Alexandri Monachi De venerandae ac vivificae crucis inventio*, MPG vol. 87, part 3, col 4069A - D; *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig (1883), vol. 1, p. 42, lines 4 - 6; for conversion of Jews, see *Hermae Sozomeni Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.v.5, ed. J. Bidez & J. C. Hansen, *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin (1960), p. 143, lines 11 - 12 (MPG vol. 67, col. 1117C); on the substance of their complaint, cf. the total of Armenian fast days in Ormanian, p. 179, in Tournebize, p. 642; on fasting and baptism, see Gouillard, p. 414 and note 89.

28. See Renoux, p. 295, note 33.

29. See Grumel, p. 329.

30. See Renoux, p. 299, note 48.

31. See Renoux, p. 305, p. 325 and note 16, pp. 333 - 334, p. 339.

stances of a five day fast being given a symbolic meaning. The Armenian theologian Grigor Arsharouni (late seventh — early eighth century) is supposed to have given one such meaning to the arajavor; according to him, its five strict days were kept in honour of the five patriarchs³². The catholicus John of Odzun (Hovhannes III) during his address to the Synod of Dvin in the year 720 spoke of "the five tortures of Scripture: fire, tears, harsh noise, darkness, worms", in order to emphasise the importance of distinguishing between strict weekday fasts, symbolised by these five tortures, and the relief from them in the comparative indulgence on Saturdays and Sundays³³. By a stretch of the imagination, these tortures might be associated with the five senses; touch with the fire that burns, taste with the salt of tears, hearing with the sound of harsh noise, sight with the affliction of darkness, smell with the worms of corruption. However, it was not of the arajavor that the catholicus was speaking but of the five strict days in each week of Lent. Similarly it was with Lent that the five senses were associated by John of Damascus (early ninth century) when purporting to quote from Severus, monophysite patriarch of Antioch. In a homily for the beginning of Lent Severus had spoken not of five but of four senses "those in the head and in the face — hearing, taste, sight, smell through which, as through servants, the intellect exercises its authority"³⁴. According to John, however, this "arch-heretic" in the course of his inaugural address had explained how it was not through four, but through five senses that sin found an entry: hearing, speech, sight, touch and taste were each cleansed eight times during Lent and so completed its forty days. This explanation showed, so went John's argument, "that all heretics in their folly kept a Lent of eight weeks"³⁵. This allegation of an extra week for Lent could have been an allusion to the week of arajavor and to the parallel week so kept, as we have noticed, by other eastern communities. It may be that there was indeed a connection between these two instances and Gagik's explanation of the five day fast as the fast of five senses, precisely because of its connection with Lent. But whatever his

32. See Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 515 - 516.

33. J. B. Aucher, *Domini Johannis Philosophi Ozniensis Armeniorum Catholici Opera*, Venice (1834), p. 36 (text), p. 37 (translation).

34. See M. Brière, "Les homélies de St. Sévère d'Antioche", *Patrologia Orientalis* 8 (1911), p. 379 (Homily LXVIII).

35. *Joannis Damascenis De Sacris jejuniis*, MPG vol. 95, col. 76C; cf. Gouillard, p. 414.

sources, his meaning was clear: the arajavor, while a "step towards Lent", was first and foremost the original fast kept by Christians. It was for this reason that it was called "preliminary".

An explanation of why the arajavor was the original fast and thus got its name was given by Nerses IV Shnorhali ("the Gracious") a little before he succeeded to the catholicate in 1166. His explanation was included in a comprehensive defence of Armenian beliefs and customs composed in reply to an enquiry by the general commanding the armies of the emperor Manuel I³⁶. According to this explanation, the fast was enjoined upon the faithful with the establishment of Christianity in Armenia by St. Gregory the Illuminator, who became her first catholicus (302 - 325), after he had miraculously survived persecution by Tiridates III (298 - 330), the last pagan king³⁷. An account of Gregory's life and achievements by the fifth century historian Agathangelos told how Gregory was imprisoned in a pit without food or water in a final attempt at forcing him to worship Armenia's pagan gods and how, after a seemingly impossible length of time, he was brought up alive and begged by Tiridates to be released from the punishment divinely imposed upon him, and upon his followers, for so persecuting him³⁸. According to Nerses, the penance they had then to undergo was the five day fast:

"It is called preliminary", he explained, "because it was the first one in Armenia to be established, and for the following reason: When St. Gregory our Illuminator came out of the pit, Tiridates, the king of the Armenians, who by divine punishment had been turned into the shape of a pig, together with his nobles and soldiers, all possessed by an evil spirit, gathered before him. Then did the holy preacher institute for them a fast forbidding them to take any kind of nourishment during the space of five days. And so they were healed. It was, indeed, this very same fast which, for the reason explained, had been instituted before all other fasts, that St. Gregory our Illu-

36. For the date see, R. Devreesse, "Negotiations ecclésiastiques arménobyzantines au XIII^e siècle", *Atti del V congresso internazionale di studi bizantini* vol. 1, Rome (1939), p. 148.

37. These are the traditional dates, but see R. H. Hewsan, "The Successors of Tiridates the Great", *Revue des études arméniennes* 13 (1978 - 79), p. 118, p. 121, p. 126.

38. See V. Langlois, "Histoire du règne de Tiridate et de la prédication de Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur", *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* vol. 1, Paris (1867), pp. 105 - 194.

minator enjoined Armenian congregations to hold every year in order to keep and observe the memory of this blessing of God's declared by it³⁹.

This explanation was repeated by the thirteenth century historian Kirakos of Gandzak who put more clearly what Nerses probably meant: how it was no less in thanks for his release that Gregory instituted the fast⁴⁰. Vardan the Great, a near contemporary of Kirakos, related in his "Universal History" how a "misadventure" befell Tiridates in the fifteenth year of his reign, how thereupon Gregory was brought out of the pit and proceeded to institute a fast of five days and how, after sixty days of preaching, "he freed his country from the worship of devils", that is to say how Christianity became the established religion of Armenia⁴¹.

The miraculous elements of this story need not, of course, necessarily cast doubt on the attribution of the fast to Gregory whether in thanks for his release or for some other reason. Agathangelos, although he did not mention a five day fast directly, did mention a period of sixty days and, together in the same passage, a period of sixty-five days, during which Tiridates and his followers had to repent their sins by fasting before they could become acceptable converts⁴². It was that fast which the catholicus John VI (1727 - 1734), in a history of Gregory almost wholly derived from Agathangelos, compared to the fast of the Ninivites⁴³. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the sixty days of Agathangelos referred to the period required for freeing Armenia "from the worship of devils", while his additional five days referred to the arajavor. Certainly, it is probable enough that the founder of an established church in Armenia was also the founder of some of its customs. Sahak recorded a number of such, a list generally considered reliable, whatever reservations there may be regarding the claim of a contemporary commentator that Sahak had recorded them exactly as they had been instituted by Gregory, only translating their description from Greek into Armenian⁴⁴. We have seen that among them

39. See J. Cappelletti, *S. Nersis Clajensis Armeniorum Catholici Opera* Venice (1833) vol. 1, p. 193; cf. I. E. Troitsky, *An Elucidation of the Dogma of the Armenian Church*, St. Petersburg (1875), pp. 216 - 217 (in Russian).

40. See M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg (1870), pp. 72 - 73.

41. See N. O. Emin, *The Universal History of Vardan the Great*, Moscow (1861), p. 48 (in Russian).

42. Langlois, p. 153.

43. See S. C. Malan, *The Life and Times of Gregory the Illuminator*, London (1868), p. 239.

44. Conybeare, *American Journal of Theology*, p. 843.

was mentioned a preliminary fast, albeit in connection with John the Baptist⁴⁵. There need not necessarily be any contradiction between the attribution of the fast to Gregory and other explanations of its meaning and origin. Nerses himself, for example, in a further defence of Armenian customs, this time addressed to the emperor, explained that "preliminary" also meant "preceding Lent" and then repeated his account of its institution⁴⁶. Similarly, it may be that the fast had been instituted by Gregory while Cyril of Jerusalem had ordained a break between it and Lent. Another possibility which would fit the sources is that the fast existed much earlier — hence the reference to "James, brother of our Lord" — and had been revived by Gregory when he had revived Armenia's ailing Christianity, while Gagik's "fast of the five senses" was an additional meaning it had in Gagik's own day.

Whether such speculation be profitable or no, whether it be possible or no to reconcile the different explanations which have been noticed, in two respects Nerses did not differ in the least from Gagik. Firstly, Nerses agreed that the fast had been long associated with the Niniuites⁴⁷. Secondly, and more importantly, he indignantly rejected any connection between the fast and a heretical preacher called Sergius "as in foolish stories by ignorant people". In fact, there had never been such a person:

"We have no memory of such a Sergius", he declared, "even less than of the Chimera, for while the latter does not exist the name does occur — while this Sergius has neither existence nor name among our people; if somewhere or other there were such a one (utterly unknown to us) the Catholic Church would have anathemised him, his ass, his dog, and anyone who gave him recognition or accepted him. But no one among our people has heard his name. It is only the Greeks who speak of this to slander us"⁴⁸.

However, just as this repudiation of Sergius the heretic was more emphatic than Gagik's, so was the account Nerses gave of the Sergius the Armenians did revere more convincing. To begin with, it was set in a more

45. *Ibid.*, p. 842.

46. Cappelletti, vol., p. 229.

47. Cappelletti, vol. 1, p. 193.

48. Cappelletti, vol. 1, pp. 192 - 193; Troisky, p. 216; cf. Garsoian, pp. 146 - 7.

believable historical framework: this Sergius, explained Nerses, had been a Christian general in the time of Constantine I and of his immediate successors. "But when the godless Julian came to the throne (Julian the Apostate, 361 - 363) Sergius suffered persecution and went off to Persia, to King Sapor (Shapur II, 310 - 379). There, because he succeeded in turning many of the army to the Christian faith, that same King Sapor granted him and his son the martyr's crown"⁴⁹. Since his martyrdom (continued Nerses) fell on January 30th, it was customary to celebrate his memory on the Saturday following the fast of arajavor⁵⁰. Then, this account was essentially supported by a somewhat longer one in the Armenian calendar of saints. The only serious discrepancy was that the Armenian date for the martyrdom, 24th Aratz, was given as corresponding to January 31st⁵¹. But Nerses evidently felt that the importance of the martyred Sergius for the Armenians needed yet further elucidation. Supposedly in response to the request of a Syrian bishop who wanted to know more about the saint the Armenians so assiduously commemorated, he expanded the material at his disposal into a fullblown hagiography, mainly by putting long speeches into the mouths of the principal characters⁵². And in order to illustrate the indisputably Armenian status of his hero, he related how Sergius enjoined upon his Persian converts a custom well enough known to them but, in a Christian context, peculiarly Armenian — the custom of animal sacrifice:

"In thanking God he never simply offered the purity of his own rational soul, but accompanied this always with the sacrifice of irrational animals, which he distributed as food for the poor and the indigent, following the custom handed down to him by his fathers. He constantly taught everyone to perform animal sacrifice: a gift from God, for the poor and the hungry to have food"⁵³.

49. On sources available to Nerses, see Peeters, *passim*.

50. Cappelletti, vol. 1, p. 193; Troitsky, p. 217.

51. G. Bayan, "Le synaxaire arménien de Ter Israël", *Patrologia Orientalis* 19 (1926), pp. 120 - 123; cf. Tondini de Quarenghi, p. 76.

52. See Cappelletti, vol. 2, pp. 176 - 196.

53. Cappelletti, vol. 2, p. 183; cf. Peeters, pp. 28 - 29, p. 31; on the custom of Armenian animal sacrifice or *matal*, see J. Tixeront, "Le rite du *matal*", *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne* 3 (1913), pp. 81 - 94; see also my "Animal Sacrifice in the Armenian Church" *Revue des études arméniennes* 16 (1982), pp. 417 - 449.

In order, however, to understand the full importance of the fast, it is also necessary to consider it in relation to the whole system of Armenian fasts and feasts. This system, except for certain immoveable festivals, was governed not only by dates but also by days of the week, a principle as old as the establishment of Christianity in Armenia⁵⁴. Sunday, the day of resurrection, was consecrated to the celebration of that event, with the possibility of adding the celebration of other events judged "dominical": those associated with the Virgin, the Incarnation, the Cross and the Church itself; but a saint's day could not be joined to it. For these, Fridays and Wednesdays were also excluded as days of penitence and fasting. Both those days could be abrogated for a dominical feast but never for that of a saint, for whose celebration there were thus only four days left. Yet even they were not unconditionally available. Any dominical feast, or any fast, which fell on a Monday, Tuesday or Thursday took precedence over any saint; on a Saturday only some special fast could so interfere. This was why, since obviously a saint who was also a martyr had a higher status than other saints, the celebration of St. Sergius took place on a Saturday when a fast had just ended, whether it coincided with the day of his martyrdom or no. Generally, each of these three categories — dominical feasts, saints' days, days of abstinence or of fasting — kept in their offices their own exclusive character, incapable of being assimilated or joined to those of the others⁵⁵. Within this system, the arajavor inaugurated a particular section of the liturgical calendar. This was the so-called "Great Easter Period", which ended on the Feast of the Transfiguration, the seventh Sunday after Pentecost⁵⁶. Depending on the date of Easter, the *Arajavori Keraki*, the Sunday which heralded the fast, could fall between January 11th and February 14th (in a leap year February 15th) of the common calendar, while the Feast of the Transfiguration could fall earlier or later within corresponding limits. The mobility of the Great Easter Period affected the liturgical calendar before it and after it. If, for example, *Arajavori Keraki* fell, in the extreme case, at or very near January 11th, the system required that the weeks between it and Theophany thus lost be bodily shifted, with all their saints' days and appropriate daily offices in their correct places, to the period between the Feast

54. See Tondini de Quarenghi, p. 279; on immoveable festivals, see Ormanian, p. 189.

55. Tondini de Quarenghi, p. 73, pp. 280 - 281, p. 288; cf. Ormanian, p. 181.

56. See Ormanian, p. 186.

of Transfiguration and the next fixed feast, that of the Assumption, a period then at its longest. If, on the contrary, Arajavori Keraki fell close to its last possible date, then the opposite process had to take place: the liturgical weeks between the Transfiguration and the Assumption had to be shifted to the period between the fixed feast of Theophany and the arajavor⁵⁷. The whole complex system had become well established at least by the twelfth century⁵⁸. But in the medieval Armenian Church, and until comparatively recent times, the precise way in which the affected weeks had be shifted was the prerogative of the local bishop, frequently leading to a lack of uniformity in the Church as a whole⁵⁹. The only agreement in a given year for the period between Theophany and Assumption would be the date of Easter, of the Transfiguration and of the arajavor accordingly, the last no less than the other two a lynch pin of the system. It will be seen, therefore, how its inauguration of the Great Easter Period was another function in virtue of which the fast could be said to justify its name, and how this function was important for Armenians, apart from the sanctity conferred upon it by the martyrdom of Sergius and the authority it derived from its establishment whether by Cyril or by Gregory.

However, be the reasons what they may for calling the fast "preliminary", be it impossible finally to determine its origins or its primary meaning, one aspect remained indisputable: inveterate Byzantine hostility incapable of a simple explanation, except in the general sense of the hostility that might be expected towards congregations not in communion with Constantinople. "Every observance pleasing to the Armenians was displeasing to the Greeks", as a Latin pilgrim to the Holy Land once put it⁶⁰. Certainly, one cause here was the circumstance just mentioned — the place of the fast in the liturgical year. The week of arajavor coincided with the week of the Byzantine προσφωνήσιμος⁶¹, a term with much the same meaning as one of the meanings of arajavor, because in that respect its function was similar: it too fell in the week preceding the Sunday

57. See Tondini de Quarenghi, pp. 72 - 73, p. 75 and note 2, pp. 286 - 287; Nilles, p. 558; Ormanian, pp. 181 - 183, p. 186.

58. See Adontz, pp. 102 - 103, cf. p. 85.

59. See Tondini de Quarenghi, p. 288.

60. See D. G. A. Neumann, "Ludolphus de Sudheim — De Itinere Terre Sancte", *Archives de l'orient latin* 2 (1884), p. 244; cf. F. Macler, "Notes latines sur les Nestoriens, Maronites, Arméniens, Géorgiens, Mozarabes", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 78 (1918), p. 247, note 5.

61. See Grumel, p. 320.

of the Prodigal Son; it too heralded the approach of Lent, and was intended to be a week of spiritual preparation for it. Just as during arajavor, part of the daily office began to be said according to the Lenten rite⁶². On one occasion Isaac Catholicus even referred to the arajavor as the προσφωνήσιμος⁶³. Thus the "artziburion" of the Armenians directly challenged, as it were, the προσφωνήσιμος of the Byzantines. It also posed an awkward problem. In contrast to the Armenians, the Byzantines did not fast that week, although it prefigured Lent, except on the Wednesday and the Friday when, as during the rest of the year, a fast had normally to be observed. Was there here not a way, then, in which an orthodox Christian might plainly differentiate his week from the unfortunately parallel week kept by the heretics — by breaking his Wednesday and Friday fast? Ecclesiastical opinion was divided. Sometimes this solution was approved, even prescribed; sometimes discouraged, even strictly forbidden. Thus, according to the early ninth century theologian Theodore of Studius, while freedom from fasting that week which prefigured Lent was a custom specifically intended against the "irreligious dogma" of the Armenians, there was no suggestion that the usual Wednesday and Friday fasts could for that reason be broken⁶⁴. A different ruling was given by Nicholas Mysticus (Patriarch of Constantinople 901 - 907, 912 - 925). The breaking of the Wednesday and Friday fasts that week was permissible for those whose possible Armenian origins might cast doubt on their orthodoxy⁶⁵. It seems there were some, perhaps unhappy in this respect, who partially followed this ruling and broke the Wednesday fast while continuing to fast on the Friday. At any rate, in 1107, a synod roundly condemned such a compromise. It pronounced an anathema on everyone "who breaks the Wednesday fast in the week of the προσφωνήσιμος on the excuse of the arajavor of the Armenians. To condemn their heresy we reject fasting from the Monday of that week, yet it is necessary to observe both Friday and Wednesday"⁶⁶. Unambiguous as this sounded, it was contradicted not long after both by Lucas Chrysoberges and by Theodore Balsamon. Lucas Chrysoberges repeated the ruling of Nicholas Mysticus but in definite

62. See J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, 2nd. edition, Venice (1730), p. 175, cols. 1 - 2.

63. Oratio II, MPG vol. 132, col. 1233C.

64. *Theodoris Studitae Catachesis Chronica* MPG vol. 99, cols. 1697D - 1700A.

65. *Nicolae Cp. Patriarchae De vita monastica*, MPG vol. 111, col. 404A.

66. See V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople* vol. 1: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 3, Paris (1947), no. 985, p. 74, Decree 16.

terms: breaking the Wednesday and Friday fast that week was permissible—but only for those of Armenian descent so that they might prove their orthodoxy; for others it was not only sinful but pointless to do so⁶⁷. But Theodore Balsamon recommended a week free from fasting for everybody. In a comment on the standard ruling that fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays could only be foregone by reason of ill health, on pain of deposition for the clergy and excommunication for the laity, he included the proviso that "we must except the week when the Armenians fast for their Artziburion, so that we may not be thought of as like-minded with them". The whole of that week was to be thought of as a "Great Sunday"⁶⁸. The difficulties arising from contradictory rulings with consequent resentment of the Armenian fast, in Byzantine eyes their cause, were increased by a steady influx of Armenians into the empire from the beginning of the seventh century onwards, and by their frequent intermixing with the general population⁶⁹. Thus, by the time of Nicholas Mysticus, the number potentially affected by his ruling respecting those of Armenian descent had become sufficiently substantial and embraced all classes. There were even emperors who would have been entitled to benefit from it⁷⁰. These efforts of the Byzantines to differentiate themselves from the Armenians are especially interesting if it be recalled that in the last week of the pre-Lenten period the thing was simple and uncontroversial. That last week, for the Byzantines was already a week of abstinence. It was ushered in by ἀπόκρεως (Sexagesima) Sunday after which no meat could be eaten, a custom said to have been instituted by the emperor Heraclius (610 - 641) in thanks for his victory over the Persians; for the Armenians, on the other hand, it was the second week of their "carnival", the festive break between arajavor and Lent⁷¹.

Another cause of Byzantine hostility was their general condemnation of any and every Armenian fasting custom: all were examples of "the

67. Lucas Chrysoberges, p. 206, line 211 - p. 207, line 216.

68. *Theodoris Balsamonis responsa ad interrogationes Marci*, MPG vol. 138, col. 1000D Responsum LII; for the ruling itself, see F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* vol. 1, Paderborn (1905), p. 585.

69. See P. Charanis, "Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), pp. 32 - 35; S. Der Nersessian, pp. 20 - 21, 27 - 28.

70. On Byzantine emperors and members of the higher nobility of possible Armenian origin, see P. Charanis, "Armenians in the Byzantine Empire", *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (1961), pp. 196 - 228.

71. See Goar, p. 175, col. 2; Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 512.

satanic heresy of the misbelieving Armenians” as a late twelfth century polemic put it⁷². A relevant example here was the condemnation of the way in which Armenians allegedly kept Lent, the most important of fasts and the one with which the arajavor was so intimately connected. The Lenten fast had to be somewhat relaxed, as has been remarked, on Saturdays and Sundays. But the Armenians, so went the accusation, would on those days partake of that which was anyway forbidden during Lent as a whole. A church council held at Constantinople in 691 - 692, the so-called “Quinisext” meant to confirm the decrees of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils on matters of ritual and discipline, had declared that not only was meat forbidden in Lent but also all products of animal origin⁷³. Anastasius of Caesarea accused the Armenians of eating eggs, cheese and butter on Saturdays and Sundays “and first of all the catholicus himself”⁷⁴. According to Isaac Catholicus, there was even an anathema on those who did not, “and they fearing the curse”, would at least eat cheese on Saturdays, “some openly, others, indeed, secretly” — presumably because the latter feared the Byzantines more than their own clergy⁷⁵. The monk known as Philip the Solitary, who may have got his information from Isaac, from other portions of whose works he copied a number of extracts, made the relevance of these accusations to the arajavor sufficiently explicit: Armenians fasted “some days” before Septuagesima Sunday, “but on the Saturdays and Sundays of holy Lent they take milk, cheese and eggs”⁷⁶. The accusation was partially admitted, in a way which could have done little to allay Byzantine suspicions, by John of Odzun. Such latitude might be allowed in order “to make things easier for the wayward, so that by this means they will find it possible to submit themselves to our faith, and that thus we may rule over the profane and this arrogant nation. . . on Saturdays and Sundays we allow the wayward and the greedy to break the fast for their ease and their cheer” — thus almost harking back to the supposed voluntary nature of an apostolic Lenten discipline⁷⁷. Nerses gave a somewhat different rejoinder in his disquisition to Manuel’s general,

72. See Troitsky, pp. 215 - 216 (note 2).

73. Mansi, vol. 11, col. 969B (Canon 56); cf. C. J. Hefele, *Historie des Conciles*, vol. 3, part ii, Paris (1909), p. 570.

74. *De impia*, col. 657B.

75. *Oratio* II, cols. 1232D - 1233A.

76. *Philippi Solitarii De Rebus Armeniae*, MPG vol. 127, col. 884B.

77. See Adontz, p. 256.

implying that the Byzantines, too, did not keep the fast as they should: to partake of milk products in Lent was better than to eat fish.

“for a fish is a complete animal, while milk products are merely derived from fleshly foods. Therefore, if you wish to fast in holiness according to God’s will, abstain from fish as much as from milk products. But if you do not wish so to observe the fast, abstain for five days from all fat dishes and from wine, while on Saturdays and Sundays, because of your non-abstinence, eat something else, that is to say fish and milk products, so that no one may believe himself to be fasting by just eating fish, under the impression that fish is somehow Lenten food”.

Thus, declared Nerses, did the clergy instruct their congregations when proper Lenten discipline was first imposed. In his own day, however, all the clergy, and most of the laity except for soldiers and their commander, abstained not only from milk products and from fish (which is not even to be thought of in Lent) but also from all fat dishes and from wine. These were the rules of abstention for everybody: the exceptions had no canonical permission. If anyone sinned by not so abstaining he had to confess repenting, and a very heavy penance was laid upon him⁷⁸. It must be concluded that for Nerses there was, ideally, no relaxation even on Saturdays or Sundays — and he could have found Armenian support for this opinion. Gagik had thought that the arajavor, as “leading to a higher abstinence, that of Lent”, should be kept more strictly than it was: “as for the use of milk products on the Saturday (i.e. St. Sergius’ Day) it would undoubtedly be much better to do entirely without them”⁷⁹. The Synod of Dvin, as opposed to John of Odzun himself who had disapproved of undifferentiated seven day fasts in Lent, had decreed that a relaxation on Saturdays and Sundays was a matter of personal choice⁸⁰. Yet this, too, was heresy for the Byzantines: Armenians so pious as not to relax their fasting then acted in contravention of another canon decreed by the Quinisext — . . . “if any priest be found fasting on the holy day of the Lord or on the Sabbath, he must be deposed, if any layman, excommuni-

78. Cappelletti, vol. 1, p. 187.

79. Dulaurier, p. 150.

80. Aucher, pp. 58, 60/59, 61. (canon 7).

cated": the same penalties as those decreed if the lighter abstinence on those days exceeded Lenten limits⁸¹. And so, despite all their denials, their explanations — and their counter-accusations — Armenians remained in the wrong whatever they did: if they relaxed their fasting on Saturdays it was only to partake of forbidden dishes, If they did not, they were equally reprehensible. Eventually, it seems, they were even reprobated for not eating fish at any time during Lent⁸². Their observance of Lent as their observance of the arajavor, was for the Byzantines nothing but part of their "satanic heresy".

Yet, according to the Byzantines themselves, the arajavor was primarily to be denounced not because it was an unauthorised fast nor because its place in the Armenian liturgical calendar might connect it with a Lenten observance equally unauthorised; it was put into the category of satanic heresies primarily because it was alleged to have been instituted at the behest of the heretic Sergius. But the nature of his heresy was never stated. It should therefore be asked what heresy the story of Sergius and the three animals associated with him suggested, or was intended to suggest, a heresy which had to be heinous enough to merit Byzantine denunciations.

Firstly, whatever the implied heresy, it is difficult to understand why Armenians thought it necessary to include an ass in their refutations. Gagik, before proceeding to his defence of the arajavor, had even thought it necessary to add to the anathemas on opponents of Chalcedon obligatory in professions of faith at Constantinople, one on Sergius "accompanied by a dog and an ass — may he share on the last day the fate of dogs and asses"⁸³. But the ass was never mentioned by the Byzantines, and it had no obvious heretical significance either for them or for the Armenians. Indeed, it could be argued that in Armenian tradition the ass, explicitly in contrast to the dog, was endowed with positive qualities. Victims offered for sacrifice had to be free not only from physical, but also from what might be called moral blemish. Thus a victim could not be offered if unjustly acquired, or if acquired in exchange for an animal itself not fit for sacrifice. However, it could be offered if acquired in exchange for an ass since an ass, though itself thus unfit, had been sanctified by Christ having ridden on the back of an ass into Jerusalem. But no victim was a fit offer-

81. Mansi, vol. 11, col. 969A (Canon 55); cf. note 73, above.

82. See Neumann, p. 369 (Macler, p. 244); Mansi, vol. 25, cols. 1229D - 1230B.

83. Matthew of Edessa, ch. 93 (Dulaurier, p. 139)

ing if acquired in exchange for a dog: so it was plainly ruled⁸⁴. A dog was an unclean animal by any standard, Armenian or Byzantine. According to a reasonably authentic tradition, this was why a certain Mark, Byzantine archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, called his dog "Armen", telling Gagik, who saw him on his way to Constantinople, that this was only because it was such a pleasant creature (ἀρμενος). Gagik tested the excuse by having Mark and Armen tied up together in a sack, whereupon that pleasant creature tore its master into pieces⁸⁵. Thus the dog, the trusted companion of Sergius, was very probably there, apart from its function in the story, both to insult the Armenians and to show how heinous a heretic Sergius had been.

Just as the dog did not only perform its function in the story but is also to be considered as an element relevant to its master's heresy, so it is with the third animal, the wolf. It too not only performed its function but its association with Sergius also hinted at his heresy. It could recall the sobriquet of one who was supposed to have been the teacher of Sergius, a certain Lycopetros — Peter the Wolf. Regarding the identity of this Lycopetros there were two main traditions. One had it that it was the monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter Callinicus (died 591) while his disciple was Sergius, called "the Armenian", bishop of Edessa⁸⁶. His sobriquet then has been supposed to have been due to a confusion with another Peter, bishop of Siounik in the time of the catholicus Abraham (607 - 615) who earned the title of wolf from the nobles of that Armenian province because his fiery piety caused him to fall upon them "like a wolf" with endless demands and instructions⁸⁷. This tradition would thus suggest that the heresy of Sergius was some version of the monophysite doctrine, adherence to which was a standard Byzantine accusation against Armenian opponents of Chalcedon. Gagik in his anathemas included the monophysite leader Eutyches⁸⁸. According to one account even, the whole story was given a monophysite colouring: the defunct dog had been the

84. See Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 72, p. 73.

85. Kirakos, p. 53; Matthew of Edessa, ch. 94 (Dulaurier, pp. 152 - 154). assigns the affair to Gagik's return journey.

86. See Gouillard, p. 415.

87. See Qukhtanes of Ourha, ch. 53, trans. M. Brosset, *Histoire en trois parties, Deux historiens arméniens* vol. 2, St. Petersburg (1871), p. 331; for the dates of Abraham's catholicate, see Garsoian, p. 133 as against Kirakos, Brosset, pp. 26 - 27 and note 4.

88. Matthew of Edessa, ch. 93 (Dulaurier, p. 139).

property not of a Sergius, but of the Syrian monophysite leader Jacob Baradaeus⁸⁹. The other tradition, however, was much more explicit. Peter the Wolf and his pupil Sergius were Bogomils, heretics who, together with Paulicians and other lesser known dualist or semi-dualist sects, were often lumped together by the Byzantines under the collective title of Manichaens. An anti-Bogomil tract belonging to the late tenth or the middle of the eleventh century, related how "that most abominable and impure Sergius saw the body of his master in the shape of a wolf"⁹⁰. The tract then went on to relate the story of Sergius his dog, and the wolf which devoured it, no differently than it was related elsewhere and, as elsewhere, used it for an explanation of the arajavor⁹¹. Theodore of Studius referred, albeit less clearly, to this tradition when he denounced "the unclean bishop of the Armenians whom the vulgar call Peter the Wolf. This cursed dogma enjoins the sectarians to observe the week (of the προσφωνήσιμος) as especially sacred because of some horrible and abominable wolf"⁹². Now Armenians, apart from being heretics in, as it were, their own right, were often suspected of "Manichean" tendencies because Paulicians, or similar sects, had from time to time flourished among them. Isaac Catholicus had accused the Armenian Church as a whole of specifically Paulician errors⁹³. In the year 1114, the emperor Alexius was said to have found the city of Philippopolis (modern Plovdiv in Bulgaria) "a nest of Manicheans" including many Armenians, "whose filthy stream had joined itself to other filth"⁹⁴. There is no doubt that any heresy considered Manichean was the most heinous of all heresies for Byzantines. One of the very few instances of the death penalty for heresy was the burning alive of a Bogomil⁹⁵. Nor could it have been forgotten that an independent Paulician state, often allied to the Muslim enemy, had had for its first ruler an Armenian Sergius or Sarkis (c. 801 - 835)⁹⁶. Here, then, were sufficient reasons to ex-

89. See Tournebize, p. 642.

90. See G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, Leipzig (1908), p. 57; for the identification of "Lycopenians" with Phundaites and Bogomils, see also *Euthemii Zigabeni Massalianorum sectae confutatio*, MPG vol. 131, col. 41C.

91. Ficker, p. 58; on the author of this tract, see pp. 177 - 179.

92. *Catachesis Chronica*, col. 1700A.

93. Oratio II, cols. 1180C - 1181D; cf. Conybeare, *Key of Truth*, pp. lxxvi - lxxx, pp. 171 - 173.

94. Anna Comnena XIV, viii. 3 (Leib, vol. 3, pp. 178 - 179).

95. See G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford (1968), p. 331.

96. Garsoian, p. 147, Ostrogorsky, p. 237.

plain the peculiar hostility of the Byzantines to an Armenian custom associated with that same name.

Finally it should be noticed that this hostility, whatever its cause, was sharpest between the middle of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century. It was then that Isaac Catholicus and the author of the *Panoplia* launched their attacks. It was then that Gagik and Nerses composed their apologia not only, of course, on the matter of the arajavor and of Lent, but in defence of every Armenian belief and custom. The reason was that during this period the position of Armenians inside the empire had greatly deteriorated. The assimilation of Armenians to the general population which has been remarked upon had taken place when they were an established and numerically stable minority, an element which presented no particular threat. Those who did not convert to Byzantine orthodoxy seem to have lived more or less undisturbed, however much their alleged heresies were disliked — or they themselves not especially loved. It was only in 971 that the catholicate thought of appointing bishops for Byzantine Armenians so that their congregations might become unmistakably separate from the Chalcedonians⁹⁷. The situation changed with the growth of the Byzantine Armenian community during the last quarter of the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century, when the eastward expansion of the empire brought large numbers of Armenians under its sway, numbers which were further increased by refugees from Saljûk conquests soon after. It was this exceptional growth which sharpened religious antagonisms and led not infrequently to explosions of hatred — at times even against those Armenians who had embraced Chalcedon. Gagik's profession of faith was intended to ameliorate the situation after Armenian bishops had been persecuted and exiled⁹⁸. Antagonisms grew still sharper when the emperor Alexius had Armenian church buildings destroyed in Constantinople and Armenian priests expelled in an attempt at forced conversion⁹⁹. It is not surprising that in contrast to what Alexius felt Armenians joyfully welcomed the leaders of the First Crusade when it pass-

97. See G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, London (1962), p. 58, note 3, p. 149; Ormanian, p. 49.

98. See S. Vryonis, "Byzantium: the Social Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 2 (1959), pp. 167 - 169; Michael the Syrian XV, 2, trans. J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* vol. 3, Paris (1905), pp. 166 - 168; Grumel, *Regestes*, pp. 18 - 19 (nos. 890, 891).

99. Michael the Syrian XV. 7 (Chabot, p. 185).

ed through their districts¹⁰⁰. When the emperor Manuel I asked Nerses to explain the Armenian religion to him, he was making the first approach after a century of mutual hostility. Manuel himself, indeed, continued for some Armenians to be practically anti-Christ in person: had he not shortened his name from one meaning "God be with us" (Immanuel) to one which could only mean "God be away from us" (Manuel, i.e. *manu-* or *minu-El*)?¹⁰¹ The negotiations between him and Nerses for a better understanding between the two churches brought, in any case, no result. There were many later attempts. Yet whatever success such had in agreements to differ on various points of doctrine or ritual, hostility towards the arajavor fast lasted, stronger than ever, at least to the last century. A service book published at Constantinople in 1874 referred to "the abominable fast called by the thrice and four times to be execrated Armenians the artziburion" which the orthodox must demonstrate they did not in any way observe. It is only fair to note that a contemporary comment was only slightly less unpleasant: "thus the so-called Great Church of Constantinople would pride itself on overthrowing heresy not by teaching but by eating"¹⁰². The Armenians had refused to give up their fast; as Gagik had once declared, they "would keep it until the end, now and forever"¹⁰³.

100. See S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* vol. 1, Cambridge (1951), pp. 190 - 192.

101. See Samuel of Ani, *Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens* vol. 1, Paris (1869), p. 452; Kirakos, p. 75.

102. See Nilles, p. 8.

103. Matthew of Edessa ch. 93, Dulaurier, p. 150.

ARMENIANS AND BYZANTINES IN THE TIME OF ALEXIUS I COMNENUS

In the year 1087, the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) caused the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas III (1084–1111), to summon a synod of his bishops and pronounce a sentence of perpetual anathema on a monk by the name of Nilus convicted of heresy.¹ This action by Alexius was not in itself especially remarkable. It was only one instance of actions taken by him in pursuance of an aim which he shared with many of his predecessors, but which he pursued with exceptional enthusiasm: the stamping out of each and every heresy within the empire. Thus, at his behest, a comprehensive list was compiled of every deviation from the orthodox faith as defined at Constantinople, each carefully classified and described, — a list which would serve as a kind of official guide.² It was this enthusiasm of his which earned him the admiration of his contemporaries, not least that of his daughter and biographer Anna, who called him “at once apostle and emperor” — if not equal to Constantine the Great, then certainly the next after him in his services to Christianity.³ However, the particular heresy

* The following abbreviations are used:

- BYZ *Byzantion*: Paris, Boston & Brussels (1924 — in progress).
CHAMA *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, vols. 1 & 2, Paris (1867–1869).
DA *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, vol. 1, Paris (1869).
DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*: 15 vols., Paris (1905–1950).
Mansi J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*: 31 vols., Florence & Venice (1759–1798).
MPG J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series graeca-latina, 165 vols., Paris (1857–1886).
MPL J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series latina, 221 vols., Paris (1844–1864).

1 V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 3, Paris (1947), no. 945 (p. 45).

2 *Euthymii Zigabeni Panoplia Dogmatica*, MPG vol. 130, cols. 19D–1359D.

3 *Annae Comnenae Alexiadis* XIV.viii. 8, ed. & trans. B. Leib, *Anna Comnène*,

of which Nilus was accused, and the circumstances in which he is said to have professed it, give his condemnation a wider interest. While the record of the synod does not even show what that heresy was, Anna recounts the affair at some length.⁴

Nilus, she says, completely misunderstood the orthodox concept of the "hypostatic union" — the perfect union of two elements or natures, which nevertheless remained distinct — a concept explaining how Jesus could have been at once fully human and full divine.⁵ Nilus, she says, had indeed assiduously read the scriptures, the church fathers and the lives of the saints, but he was a man of little learning, totally ignorant of what she called "Hellenic culture" — in this context, apparently, the classical rules of logical argument — and so was unable to draw sensible conclusions from his reading. It was thus that he fell into the heresy of emphasizing the divinity of Jesus at the expense of his humanity. In other words, he arrived at a version of the Monophysite doctrine — that Jesus was of only one, divine, nature — the doctrine which had been firmly rejected by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of the Church, the Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451. For nearly two hundred years after that, this single nature of Jesus had continued to be the subject of bitter quarrels but, from the second half of the seventh century when Syria and Egypt — where its proponents had chiefly flourished — had been conquered by the Arabs, until the eleventh century, it had rarely troubled the Church. The affair of Nilus was an outstanding episode in the revival of these old quarrels: he infused the Monophysite doctrine with fresh vigour. Uncultured though he was, says Anna, an austere life and a parade of virtues gained him entry into the houses of the great and the support of distinguished followers. As his influence increased, the emperor himself decided to engage him in dispute, but was unable to convince him of the wrongness of his views. So force was the only remedy for Nilus. The sentence of anathema would once and for all discredit this dangerous monk.

However, according to Anna, it was not the success that Nilus had had with the great nor, it seems, merely her father's eagerness to eradicate heresy, which provided the immediate reason for his personal intervention. It was, she explains, because at that time there were large numbers of

Alexiade, vol. 3, Paris (1945), p. 181; cf. F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (Les Comnènes*, vol. 1), Paris (1900), pp. 316-320; G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, Oxford (1929), pp. 160-161.

4 Anna Comnena, X.i.1-5 = Leib, vol. 2, Paris (1943), pp. 187-189.

5 On this concept, see e.g., A. Michel, "Hypostatique (Union)", DTC vol. 7 (1922), cols. 437-568.

Armenians in Constantinople and for them "that Nilus" (though not himself an Armenian) "had become an incentive to impiety".⁶ If Anna was right, if Nilus had really succeeded in spreading his influence among the city's Armenians as he had among the city's nobility, then his challenge to Chalcedonian orthodoxy was undoubtedly serious. For it was that same Monophysite doctrine, or a doctrine close to it, which constituted the "impiety" of the Armenians. The Armenians of Constantinople, or elsewhere in the empire, had come from the lands which lay between Asia Minor, the southern Caucasus, western Persia and Mesopotamia. These were the lands of Armenia, whatever their changing political divisions or rulers. The Church of Armenia had been established in these lands, or perhaps re-established there, for it claimed apostolic origins, at the beginning of the fourth century. Whatever was thought of its early years, it was always the Byzantine view that the Armenians, inside or outside their own country, who, since Chalcedon, had accepted the doctrine of their Church on the hypostatic union, did not differ significantly in their understanding of this doctrine from any other Monophysites.⁷ If Nilus had given that doctrine fresh vigour, had given it its incentive on the scale that Anna believed, then obviously his influence had to be destroyed. It seems that Alexius was of his daughter's opinion, for his intervention was not confined to disputing with Nilus and denouncing him. The encouragement given to the Armenians in their impiety had also to be counteracted. And so Alexius composed a "Discourse against the Armenians who wrongly believe there to be one nature in Christ", where he attacked their interpretation of the hypostatic union with sustained and elaborate argument, leaving no doubt as to how seriously he took the challenge this interpretation posed.⁸ But he also made it clear there that it was not only a question of theological convictions. Side by side with his arguments for the Chalcedonian interpretation, he called upon the Armenians simply to accept it because it was "the faith of my empire".⁹ And here it was this double challenge, at once theological and political, which was his sole concern: while the occasion for the "Discourse" was obviously the affair of Nilus, his name was not even mentioned in it.¹⁰ On the other hand, his name does appear in another, no less significant, document. It appears in the anathemata of the "Synodicon", or synodal list

6 Anna Comnena, X.i.4 = Leib, vol. 2, p. 188.

7 S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, London (1969), pp. 76-77.

8 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analecta Hierosolymytikes Stachoulogias*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg (1891), pp. 113-123.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 119, line 30.

10 See Chalandon, p. 317; Buckler, p. 328.

of personages to be praised or denounced, which was read out (and still is in the services of the Greek and Russian churches) on the Feast of Orthodoxy celebrated on the first Sunday in Lent to commemorate the final defeat of Byzantine iconoclasm in 843.¹¹ The version of the Synodicon in which Nilus first appears was gradually compiled between the end of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century.¹² It is thus reasonable to suppose that his name was added at the wish of Alexius, who thereby further emphasized the danger he saw in the encouragement Nilus gave to Armenian impiety.

The condemnation of Nilus in the Synodicon had a wider aspect. It followed the condemnation, also first added in the same version, of another, much better known, figure. This was John Italus, until then holder of the chair of philosophy in the university of Constantinople. Like Nilus, Italus had been found guilty of teaching false doctrines about the hypostatic union. But the issue was deeper. Both were guilty of trying to explain the mystery by the exercise of logic and reason — instead of accepting the teaching of the Fathers. Nilus was closely linked with his illustrious predecessor and, despite the lack of secular learning ascribed to him by Anna, should be considered one of the main figures in the development of a critical approach to theological questions. Italus was condemned explicitly for just such an approach.¹³ And Nilus, too, had tried to apply "Hellenic" reasoning, however small his understanding of it, to the received texts. It was this which made him especially dangerous in the eyes of Alexius,¹⁴ and Alexius showed exactly how dangerous he considered all such applications to be, and how necessary it was to defend orthodoxy against them. The university of Constantinople had been established in the form which Alexius knew it for some forty years. During that time it had become the focus for an efflorescence of classical learning. Alexius, not content with getting rid of Italus, entirely changed the university's character: while apparently not forbidding the continuation of secular studies, he put the whole institution under the con-

11 For the text, see T.I. Uspensky, "The Synodicon for Orthodox Week", *Transactions of the Imperial University of Novorossiisk* 59 (1893), p. 425 (Greek and Russian); cf. S. Salaville, "Philosophie et théologie ou épisodes scolastiques à Byzance de 1059 à 1117", *Echos d'Orient* 29 (1930), p. 143 & note 2; p. 148.

12 See T.I. Uspensky, *Notes on the History of Byzantine Education*, St. Petersburg (1891), pp. 90-109 (in Russian).

13 For the text of the anathema on Italus, see Uspensky, *Transactions*, pp. 420-421; cf. *Idem*, *Notes*, pp. 170-172; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J.M. Hussey, Oxford (1956), pp. 331-332 & note 1.

14 See Uspensky, *Notes*, p. 185.

trol of the patriarchate.¹⁵ The impression made on Alexius by these ideas which were so repugnant to him, and the effect they had on his attitude to Nilus and the Armenians, may also be reflected in a section of his "Discourse". Here, the contention that the two natures of Jesus have been perfectly joined in the hypostasis, with each retaining its properties wholly unchanged, is supported by an analogy from the material world. If iron is heated by fire, neither changes its nature. The iron retains its shape and weight, the fire its light and heat: "The iron partakes of what is given out by the fire, but the natures still remain two upon one and the same hypostasis" (i.e., hot iron), "similarly the two natures of Christ remain distinct though united, because his human nature participates in the divine energy just as the iron does in the fire". This analogy in itself was not original. It appears very briefly in the guide to heresies¹⁶ and, in a slightly expanded form, in a letter of Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, a personal friend of Alexius and his adviser on religious affairs.¹⁷ But Alexius further expanded it until it now fills nearly three pages from a total of nearly seven of the Discourse's Greek printed text.¹⁸ A substantial portion of its argument, therefore, was supported by secular logic applied to data, however inaccurately understood, drawn from secular science. It may be assumed that Alexius gave such pride of place to this explanation of his not because he had been influenced by the very method of interpretation he was fighting, but because he wanted to meet it and defeat it on its own ground. Yet, whatever his motives for using this explanation so prominently, there is no evidence that it helped him to convince any Armenians in Constantinople of the correctness of the Chalcedonian interpretation — any more than did the purely theological arguments in the "Discourse" or his appeal to Armenian loyalty. On the contrary, a Monophysite chronicle which — although obviously biased — is usually considered reliable as to the facts, asserts that he proceeded to deal with the Armenians of Constantinople much as he had dealt with Nilus. He abandoned argument for compulsion, had the

15 See K. Vogel, "Byzantine Science", *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 2, (1967), p. 272; R. Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century", *BYZ* 32 (1962), pp. 167-168 and his references in notes 2, 3 & 4.

16 *Panoplia Dogmatica* XVI = MPG vol. 130, col. 176B.

17 *Theophylacti Bulgariae Archiepiscopi epistola ex Vaticano codice* XX = MPG vol. 126, col. 353D. For references to other, and more acceptable, versions of the iron — fire analogy, see D. Guillaume, "L'église arménienne et les théologiens protestants du 16^e siècle", *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, nouvelle série, I (1964), pp. 279-280 (note 9).

18 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, p. 117, line 6 — p. 119, line 16.

buildings of their Church destroyed; their incumbent priests were driven away. Those who did not flee with them "became for the most part heretics" — they finally accepted Chalcedon when there was no alternative.¹⁹ If the chronicle is to be believed, that was the end of the Constantinople community for at least the next hundred years; no mention was made of its revival by the time the chronicle was completed in 1196.²⁰ Another source may indirectly support this conclusion. The poet and philosopher John Tzetzes, in a work written between 1160 and 1170, listed all the foreign communities at Constantinople known to him, since he wished to expatiate on its cosmopolitan character. The Armenians do not appear among them.²¹

It was not only at Constantinople, however, that Alexius acted to eradicate the Armenian heresy. In the year 1114, learning that hostile tribes were about to cross the Danube, he marched an army into the Balkans and set up his headquarters at Philippopolis, the chief city of Thrace (modern Plovdiv in Bulgaria).²² According to Anna, he found it a nest of heretics: the Armenians "whose filthy stream had joined itself to other filth" had virtually divided the city up among themselves.²³ Alexius, says Anna, did not hesitate: "he arrayed his military might against them whereupon some immediately submitted, while some he took prisoner and enslaved by force of arms".²⁴ It was only then that the task of conversion began. It is not known how it succeeded with the Armenians: presumably, under such conditions, better than had the "Discourse". Perhaps one result was the allegedly voluntary conversion, reported by Theophylact, of a substantial number of Armenians at Triaditza (modern Sofia) where part of the army was stationed, and who were forthwith to be presented to the emperor.²⁵ What is known is that this campaign of conversion had another result connected with the affair of Nilus. The campaign had been largely entrusted to Eustratius,

19 Michael the Syrian XV.7; trans. J.B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 3, Paris (1905), p. 185.

20 On the date of Michael's last entry, see Chabot, vol. 3, p. 425 (*Anno Graecorum* 1507 = A.D. 1196); on Michael himself, E. Tisserant, "Michel le Syrien", *DTC* vol. 10 (1928), cols. 1711-1729.

21 See G. Moravcsik, "Barbarische Sprachreste in der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes", *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbuecher* 7 (1930), pp. 353-357.

22 Anna Comnena, XIV.viii.1 = Leib, vol. 3, pp. 177-178; cf. Chalandon, pp. 266-267.

23 Anna Comnena, XIV. viii. 3 = Leib, vol. 3, pp. 178-179.

24 *Ibid.*, XIV. viii. 8 = p. 181.

25 Ep. XVIII = MPG vol. 126, col. 345A; for the identification of Triaditza with ancient Sardica and modern Sofia, see Leib, vol. 1, Paris (1937), p. 218 and note 1.

bishop of Nicea, and a member of the imperial entourage at Philippopolis. He was given this task probably because the sentence on Nilus had moved him to compose a forthright polemic against Monophysite doctrines. Yet he proceeded to fall into the same errors as had Nilus. In his attempts to convince the Armenians of their heresy, he not only came to adopt a standpoint similar to theirs, but also incurred the accusation of being a disciple of Italus.²⁶ The accusation was justified. Like Nilus, his erstwhile opponent, Eustratius came to use that same method of interpretation which was derived from the climate of ideas fostered at the university of Constantinople, and which was so often applied to the mysteries of the hypostatic union.²⁷ It is true that Eustratius did not suffer the fate of Nilus. He was treated with exceptional mildness, perhaps because of his earlier services to orthodoxy. His name was included in the anathemata of the *Synodicon* — but only in a local version published at Rhodes.²⁸ Brought before a synod in 1117, he was only cautioned and if, as some believe, he was later nevertheless removed from his bishopric, he was quickly reinstated.²⁹ Yet the affair of Eustratius, like that of Nilus, shows how the challenge of the Armenian interpretation of the hypostatic union could be part of a wider challenge to orthodoxy in the time of Alexius.

Alexius had additional reasons to treat this challenge seriously — reasons which can explain his decision to use force against the Armenians of Philippopolis before even trying to convert them. In the first place, according to Anna, while the Armenians differed in doctrine from the other heretics there, they were all alike in their *apostasis* — a word equally applicable to those rejecting the authority of the State or the authority of the Church.³⁰ Certainly, Alexius made no great distinction between the two: heresy meant disloyalty. However, if he believed such people to be actual rebels, who dominated the city from which he expected to conduct a campaign against barbarian invaders, they had, before anything else, to be effectively suppressed. That Alexius did believe this is quite likely: the heretics with

26 *Nicetae Choniatae ex libro XXII thesauri orthodoxi fidei*, MPG vol. 140, cols. 136D–137A; cf. T.I. Uspensky, "Theological and Philosophical Movements in Byzantium during the 11th and 12th Centuries", *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* 227 (Sept. 1891), pp. 148–150 (in Russian).

27 *Ibid.*, p. 154, p. 157; cf. *Idem, Notes*, p. 201.

28 See N. Cappuyns, "Le *Synodicon* de l'église de Rhodes au XII^e siècle," *Echos d'Orient* 33 (1934), p. 198.

29 See Grumel, no. 1003 (pp. 82–83); cf. Salaville, pp. 152–153; Chalandon, pp. 318–319.

30 Anna Comnena, XIV.viii.7 = Leib, vol. 3, p. 181; cf. Buckler, p. 335 & note 1.

whom the Armenians of Philippopolis had mingled, Anna's "other filth", were the Paulicians and the Bogomils,³¹ two sects which — apart from their teachings — constituted a direct threat to the empire. The Bogomils had been the focus of discontent in the Balkans during the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria and its liquidation as a state in 1018.³² The Paulicians, who had fought imperial authority for centuries — at one period with a state of their own, allied to the Muslims — had been routed in battle by Alexius three years before he came to the throne, after they had risen in revolt with the help of the same tribes against whom he was now planning his campaign.³³ It was explicable, therefore, that Alexius used force against all the heretics of Philippopolis without distinction. But the Bogomils and the Paulicians were not only militarily dangerous. Both sects were at least as much detested and feared because of their dualism, the principle held by them in common, although they otherwise differed in many of their doctrines and customs. Dualism, as distinct from merely heretical interpretations, contradicted the basis of Christianity. It claimed that the universe was composed of two warring, irreconcilable elements in the form of light and darkness, good and evil or spirit and matter. The positive elements were the creation of God, the negative of a "demiurge", or emanation of God. Both the Paulicians and the Bogomils, although their idea of his power under God differed, believed in this demiurge, whom they identified with Satan, and who was the creator of the material world.³⁴ For man, this eternal conflict between the two irreconcilable elements made the incarnation in its Christian concept, however interpreted, meaningless. Man was composed of spirit and matter, and matter could never be sanctified: the flesh, therefore, as against the Christian concept, could not but be irredeemable. Dualism came to the Christian world from the Persian Mani at the beginning of the third century.³⁵ Anna, who first gives the two dualist sects at Philippopolis their correct names, justifiably goes on to call both of them "Manicheans". She then dwells at length on how Alexius dealt with this, the worst of all heresies, how by his unremitting efforts he converted many of them and had them baptized in the true faith.³⁶ And because the Mani-

31 Anna Comnena, XIV.viii.3 = Leib, vol. 3, p. 179.

32 See D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, Cambridge (1948), pp. 172-173.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 189-191.

34 See S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, Cambridge (1947), pp. 50-51; Obolensky, pp. 123-124; N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, Paris-The Hague (1967), p. 158.

35 For a short account and for references to the literature, see Obolensky, pp. 1-27.

36 Anna Comnena, XIV. viii. 9 = Leib, vol. 3, pp. 181-182.

cheans were the inveterate enemies of Christianity, it was natural first to use force against them, whether or no at a particular time they constituted a military threat. For they were one of the few sects subject to the death penalty in Byzantine law from its earliest codification in the middle of the fifth century.³⁷ It was Alexius himself who shortly before, or shortly after Philippopolis had the leader of a Byzantine group of Bogomils, who refused to recant, solemnly and with much ceremony burnt at the stake, an event to which Anna devotes nearly three chapters of her biography.³⁸ It is thus not surprising that the mingling of the Armenians with such heretics as these influenced Alexius in the way it did.

It seems that Alexius did not distinguish between Armenians and Manicheans in another respect. Just as he caused the Manicheans at Philippopolis to be baptized on conversion so, according to Matthew of Edessa, a twelfth-century Armenian source usually considered reliable, he also ordered Armenians whether at Philippopolis or elsewhere, "because he hated them profoundly", to be baptized before being received into the orthodox Church.³⁹ Here his reasons, even if he did hate the latter as much as the former, for treating both alike are more problematic. The baptism of converted Manicheans was normal procedure. Since the flesh was irredeemable, most dualist sects either rejected baptism altogether or performed a similar ceremony of their own close to the moment of death since only then, when the spirit was about to be released from the corruption of the flesh, might redemption be achieved. Thus, the Paulicians, to the question, "Why do you not allow yourself to be baptized as Christ and the apostles enjoined?" would answer, "you do not know the mystery of baptism: we are in no hurry to be baptized, for baptism is death".⁴⁰ The Bogomils wholly rejected baptism in favour of their own initiation ceremonies.⁴¹ And so the Church had always demanded that Manicheans, or any others sharing their dualism, should be baptized on conversion.⁴² With Armenians, the situation was entirely different. Their belief in redemption was the same as that of any Christian. They had been baptized in the name of the Trinity, even if

37 For references, see Garsoïan, pp. 195-197.

38 Anna Comnena, XV.viii.1-XV.x.4 = Leib, vol. 3, pp. 219-228; cf. Chalandon, p. 319; Ostrogorsky, p. 331; on the probable date, see Obolensky, pp. 275-276.

39 Matthew of Edessa III.228; trans. E. Dulaurier, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Edesse* (962-1136), Paris (1858), p. 301.

40 Gregory Magistros, trans. F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, Oxford (1898), p. 148; cf. Garsoïan, pp. 159-161.

41 See Obolensky, pp. 129-130, p. 179, pp. 215-216.

42 See e.g., Mansi, vol. 11, cols. 984 C-E; cf. G. Crontz, *La lutte contre l'hérésie en Orient jusqu'au IX^e siècle, pères, conciles, empereurs*, Paris (1933), p. 150.

they disagreed on the nature of its second person with the adherents of Chalcedon. Now, while until about the beginning of the fifth century baptism by those with heretical opinions on the Trinity might be held invalid,⁴³ ever since then the position of the Church had been clear: baptism in the name of the Trinity, however perversely understood, had to be accepted. It was a rule "which both the East and the West observed".⁴⁴ Theodore Balsamon, the great twelfth-century canonist, who declared (after the time of Alexius) that recognition of any heretical baptism was tantamount to a recognition of that heresy was, it appears, very much in a minority.⁴⁵ In any event, there can have been no doubt about Armenians. Theophylact, who described in some detail the procedure to be followed with Armenian converts, never mentioned the need for a second baptism.⁴⁶ The guide to heresies commissioned by Alexius implicitly accepted the original baptism Armenians had undergone.⁴⁷ At a slightly later date, a certain Isaac, self-styled "catholicus" (patriarch) of Armenia, a convert to Chalcedon, who bitterly attacked his former co-religionists, noted that converted Armenians must not be baptized a second time.⁴⁸ It is true that there was a ceremony associated with baptism which converted Armenians did have to undergo: the anointing which followed it.⁴⁹ But this was for no doctrinal reason; it was because the ingredients of their own anointing oil were sometimes suspected to be not in accordance with the traditional formulae.⁵⁰ The anointing was certainly part

43 See e.g., *Basillii sancti patris nostri epistola* CLXXXVIII = MPG vol. 32, cols. 664C-672A; cf. Crontz, p. 43, p. 49, pp. 64-65.

44 *S. Siricii Papae epistolae et decreta* I.1 = MPL vol. 13, col. 1134; *Vigilii Papae epistolae et decreta* II.4 = MPL vol. 69, cols. 15B-144B; cf. *S. Augustini De baptismo contra Donatistas* I.1 = MPL vol. 43, cols. 107-244; G. Bareille, "Baptême des hérétiques", DTC vol. 2 (1910), cols. 228-229.

45 *Theodori Balsamonis, Zonarae, Aristeni, commentaria in canones SS Apostolorum, conciliorum et in canonicas epistolas SS Patrum* XLVI = MPG vol. 137, cols. 129C-132A.

46 *Ex Vaticano codice epistola* XVIII = MPG vol. 126, cols. 345A, 345D, 348C-D; *idem, Epistola A.J. Lamio edita* X = MPG vol. 126, cols. 520 B-D.

47 *Panoplia Dogmatica* XXIII = MPG vol. 130, col. 1188B.

48 *Isaaci Armeniae Catholici narratio de rebus Armeniae*, MPG vol. 132, cols. 1261C-D; cf. F. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, Paris (1910), p. 247, note 1.

49 Theophylact and Isaac Catholicus as in notes 46 and 48, above.

50 *Theorani orthodoxi disputatio cum Armeniorum Catholico*, MPG vol. 133, cols. 190D-192D; cf. L. Petit, "Arménie: Croyance et Discipline", DTC vol. 1 (1905), cols. 1954-1955; L. Arpee, *A History of Armenian Christianity*, New York (1946), p. 369, note 26; I.E. Troitsky, *An Elucidation of the Dogma of the Armenian Church*, St. Petersburg (1875), pp. 218-219 (in Russian).

of the whole ceremony, but its repetition was never considered to be equivalent to a second baptism.⁵¹

What credence, then, can be given to the assertion that, despite this weight of authorities against him, Alexius did demand a second baptism from the Armenians? Two other Armenian references to it should first be noted. Vardan, called "the Great", a famous *vartapet* or theologian of the thirteenth century, considers Alexius to have been "prudent and benevolent", even "well-disposed" to the Armenians and relates that it was his mother, Anna Dalassena who, "misled by a lying monk", caused Alexius to make his demand.⁵² On the other hand, the Armenian priest Samuel of Ani (1100 — post 1179), who cordially detested Alexius and all his works, nevertheless also claims that it was not he but his mother who was responsible.⁵³ That Anna Dalassena was inclined to an exaggerated piety remarkable even by the standards of her age, and that she exercised a powerful influence over her son for the first eight years of his rule, are both circumstances equally well attested.⁵⁴ It is quite possible, therefore, that she influenced him in the affair of Nilus to demand more than ordinary orthodox custom required from any Armenian converts Alexius may then have made. Vardan's reliability is at least supported by his remarking correctly that she eventually quite lost her influence.⁵⁵ It is more important to notice that both Vardan and Samuel agree with Matthew of Edessa on the demand for a second baptism, and that both Vardan, who was friendly to Alexius and thus might have wanted to shift the responsibility, and Samuel who was hostile and thus had no need to do so, alike believed the demand to be unusual enough to merit more explanation than the hatred Matthew said Alexius bore the Armenians, and so to put it down to the fanatical piety of a domineering mother.

Be the truth of the part played by Anna Dalassena what it may, or the truth of his personal feelings about Armenians, there could have been another reason why Alexius thought it necessary to treat them and the dualists

51 See G. Bareille, "Baptême d'après les Pères grecs et latins", *DTC* vol. 2 (1910), pp. 215-217.

52 See N.O. Emin, *The Universal History of Vardan the Great*, Moscow (1861), p. 131, p. 146 (in Russian).

53 Samuel of Ani, part ed. & trans. E. Dulaurier, *Extrait de la chronographie*, DA p. 458.

54 Anna Comnena, III. vi. 1; III. vii. 2 = *Leib*, vol. 1, p. 119, p. 125; cf. Buckler, p. 120, note 1, p. 296; Chalandon, p. 25.

55 Emin, p. 133; cf. *Joannis Zonarae epitome historiarum* XVIII. 24, ed. L. Dindorf, vol. 4, Leipzig (1870), p. 245, lines 14-29; cf. C. Diehl, "Anna Dalasséna," *Figures byzantines*, 2nd. edn., vol. 1, Paris (1908), p. 342.

alike in the matter of baptism. It may have been natural for him to see a more definite connection between them than just their joint presence at Philippopolis. It may have been natural for him to suppose the Armenians themselves to be infected by dualism, however different their own heresy. For dualism of various kinds had had by his day a long history of gaining adherents among them. To begin with, it should be noted that the religion of pre-Christian Armenia, while polytheistic like many other pagan religions, was fundamentally dualist. Derived from Persian Zoroastrianism with its twin conflicting principles, it identified the sun, as did the Persian form, with the good principle, the creator of light.⁵⁶ Elements of this pagan dualism persisted for centuries after the coming of Christianity. The Armenian monk Paul of Taron (died 1123) spoke of "Manicheans" in his day "who worship the sun",⁵⁷ and this sun worship, with its dualist counterpart, the execration of darkness, was denounced as having deep roots in Armenia by the catholicus Nerses IV (1166-1173).⁵⁸ Side by side with this survival of pagan dualism other, similar, doctrines had some influence within the Armenian Church itself, almost from the time of its establishment. At a synod held in 324 certain Armenian bishops were warned against excessive ascetic practices with an apparently dualist tinge.⁵⁹ An epistle of Mani was addressed to the Armenians and, by the sixth century, his writings had a wide currency, spreading their "doctrine of two roots" both among the laity and the clergy.⁶⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Paulicians and kindred sects had an Armenian origin — the name itself is probably derived from the Armenian.⁶¹ References to the growing strength and influence of the Paulicians in Armenia, sometimes under their own name, sometimes under various local names, begin to occur from the fifth century.⁶² It was

56 See N.O. Emin, *Studies & Essays in Armenian Mythology, Archeology, History & Literary History 1858-1884*, Moscow (1896), pp. 13-15, 26-27 (in Russian); cf. R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071*, Paris (1947), p. 118.

57 See trans. in Conybeare, pp. 175-176.

58 See J. Cappelletti, *Nersesis Clajensis Armeniorum Catholici opera*, Venice (1833), pp. 239-241, p. 269; cf. Runciman, p. 58. According to Emin, *Studies*, p. 31, note 1, Armenians of his day were wont to exclaim "the sun knows that ..." for "God knows that ..." and "the sun be my witness that ..." for "God be my witness that ...".

59 Mansi, vol. 2, cols. 1092A-1103B; cf. Obolensky, p. 22.

60 Eznik of Kolb, trans. V. Langlois, CHAMA vol. 2, pp. 371-372, 375-376; cf. R. Alfarc, *Les écritures manichéennes*, vol. 1, Paris (1918), p. 70.

61 See Garsoïan, p. 92 and note 36.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88, p. 132; M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague (1974), p. 32.

from Armenia that the Paulician heresy came to Byzantium when the emperor Constantine V transferred Armenians to Thrace for defence against Bulgarian invasions in 757.⁶³ It was an Armenian, Sergius or Sarkis, who for a time ruled that Paulician state which threatened the empire in alliance with the Muslims, and it was a second transfer of Armenians to Thrace, also to help in its defence, by the emperor John II Tzimisces in 975 which probably added to its Paulician population.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the heresy flourished within Armenia. In vain did John of Odzun (the catholicus Hovhannes III, 712–728) inveigh against “that most wicked sect of obscene men”.⁶⁵ During the tenth century, despite every effort by the Armenian Church, perhaps with Byzantine co-operation, it infected the ranks of the higher nobility, and more than one bishop was suspected of secret Paulician sympathies.⁶⁶ Nor had matters changed shortly before the reign of Alexius. A contemporary Armenian source speaks of “the distressing break-up of our heavenly and sanctifying religion. For in consequence of the wicked wizardry of the Manichean and other sects this land is sunk in barbarism and darkness and overhung with thick clouds”.⁶⁷ It seems that an entire province had only recently been purified after having been under Manichean domination for over fifty years.⁶⁸ As a result of all these gains by Armenian dualists inside and outside the country, it was natural that those hostile to the

63 *Theophanis chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig (1883), p. 429, lines 19–22; cf. Runciman, p. 70, pp. 90–91; Obolensky, pp. 59–60.

64 Anna Comnena, X.i.5 = Leib, vol. 2, p. 189 and note 1.

65 J.B. Aucher, *Domini Johannis Odziensis philosophi Armeniorum Catholici opera*, Venice (1834), pp. 78–89; cf. Runciman, p. 32. It should be noted that, against the generally accepted view of the Paulicians, Byzantine or Armenian, as dualists of Manichean or similar origin, it has been proposed that their common origin was adoptionist — a quite different heresy which in its Eastern form claimed that Jesus was a man of exceptional qualities in virtue of which he became consubstantial with the first person of the Trinity by a divine act of adoption; Armenian Paulicians largely remained adoptionists, only Byzantine Paulicians became dualists; see Garsoïan, pp. 150–185, proposing the new hypothesis, as against Obolensky, pp. 12–58. But there is no doubt that Armenian Paulicians were constantly accused of dualism by the Armenians themselves — the relevant point here; both Paul of Taron and Nerses IV (notes 57 and 58, above) identified their “Manicheans” with Armenian Paulicians.

66 Aristaces of Lastivert, trans. Conybeare, pp. 131–134; cf. N. Garsoïan, “Byzantine Heresy — A Re-Interpretation”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), p. 90.

67 Gregory Magistros, trans. Conybeare, pp. 149–151; cf. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p. 144.

68 Kuirakos of Kantzag, trans. M. Brosset, “Histoire d’Arménie”, *Deux historiens arméniens*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg (1870), p. 47; Stephen Orbelian, “Histoire de la Siounie”, *ibid.*, pp. 158–160, 164–165, 177–179.

Armenian Church should indiscriminately accuse its members of dualist inclinations of one kind or another. Thus, the great Byzantine theologian Theodore the Studite (early ninth century) alleged that the week's fast Armenians kept a month before the general fast of Lent was of Paulician origin.⁶⁹ Its existence eventually became so disturbing to pious Chalcedonians that it made them attack all Armenian fasts as works of the devil, while a synod held in 1107 had to pronounce an anathema on those who broke the ordinary Wednesday fast that week in order to distinguish themselves from the Armenians.⁷⁰ The ruler of the Armenian province of Kars, on his conversion to orthodoxy, had to renounce not only the doctrines of various Monophysite sects but also those of Mani and of "Sarkis the Paulician".⁷¹ Isaac Catholicus accused the Armenians of seventeen specifically Paulician customs so accurately described that he must have copied his descriptions deliberately from a Paulician source.⁷² These suspicions had even spread beyond the empire. An Armenian who visited Rome in the pontificate of Benedict VIII (1012-1024) with the innocent intention of praying at its holy places, was instantly denounced as a heretic worthy of death "because in those days Armenia was full of Manicheans, and any Armenian had acquired this reputation". In fact, it proved that this particular Armenian was not only no Manichean but even no "schismatic", Monophysite or otherwise: "he was not even tainted with the unacceptable dogma or ritual of the Greeks".⁷³ It cannot be that Alexius, with his enthusiasm for theology, was ignorant of this reputation acquired by the Armenians. He too would readily suspect them of some dualist infection especially at Philippopolis in the heart of Thrace, where Armenian Paulicians had been so long established. Accordingly, to be on the safe side, he would demand from all his Armenian converts a second baptism. It was probably no accident that the same synod which condemned Nilus, condemned a certain Blachernites, also brought before it by Alexius, on a charge of actually belonging to one of the dualist sects.⁷⁴

- 69 *S. Theodori Studitae catechesis chronica*, MPG vol. 99, cols. 1697D=1700B; a clear reference to Paulicians if taken together with *Isaaci Armeniae Catholicus oratio invectiva adversus Armenios XIII.8* = MPG vol. 132, col. 1204B.
- 70 Grumel, No. 985 (p. 71 — decree no. 16); see Troitsky, pp. 215-216 (note 2).
- 71 Matthew of Edessa II.93 = Dulaurier, pp. 138-139; cf. Conybeare, Introduction, p. 1xviii.
- 72 *Oratio invectiva VIII* = MPG vol. 132, cols. 1180C-1181D; Conybeare, Introduction, pp. 1xxvi-1xxx and pp. 171-173.
- 73 *Galini conciliationis ecclesiae Armeniae cum Romana pars prima XVIII*. 33-41 = vol. I, Rome (1690), pp. 220-224; cf. Tournèize, p. 152.
- 74 Grumel as in note 1, above; Anna Comnena, X. i. 6 = Leib, vol. 2, p. 189.

Such, then, were the circumstances of the affair of Nilus and the conversions at Philippopolis. However, for a better understanding of the position of the Armenians under Alexius it is necessary to consider relations between Armenians and Byzantines in a longer perspective. It should be recalled that their conversion had been attempted by three previous emperors. In 936 Romanus I Lecapenus is said to have expelled Armenian monks and priests who had refused to accept Chalcedon, from the empire. Nothing is known of this attempt beyond its bare mention in an Armenian source.⁷⁵ The next attempt was by Constantine X Ducas. Between 1060 and 1063, in Constantinople and elsewhere, Armenian service books were burnt, the bread and wine of the eucharist desecrated. Many who refused to be converted were expelled. The catholicus and several of his bishops came to negotiate but were expected to submit. On their refusal, they were seized and sent off to captivity in northern Greece.⁷⁶ The third attempt was by Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–1071). Of this attempt, too, there is only the bare mention.⁷⁷ But the distinction to be drawn between these three attempts is not that one of them is better authenticated than the others and that more is known about it. The distinction is, rather, that by the time of Constantine X relations between Armenians and Byzantines were quite different from what they had been. From the middle of the seventh century when the immediate challenge of the Monophysites had disappeared, and for more than three hundred years thereafter, the Armenians within the empire — whatever the dislike of their real or suspected heresies — seem to have lived more or less undisturbed. There is even evidence that they could, if they wished, join in the orthodox liturgy and receive communion with the rest of the congregation. It was only in 971 that the catholicus Gagik I thought it necessary to begin appointing bishops for Byzantine Armenians so that their congregations might become unmistakably separate from the Chalcedonian majority.⁷⁸ It is improbable, therefore, that the attempt by Romanus I was the result of deliberate conversionist policy. Perhaps he reck-

75 Kuirakos, trans. Brosset, pp. 44–45.

76 Michael the Syrian, XV.2 = Chabot, vol. 3, pp. 166–168; Grumel, nos. 890, 891 (pp. 18–19); *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. & trans. from the Syriac by J.B. Abbeloos & T.J. Lamy, vol. 1, Louvain (1872), pp. 439–440.

77 Michael the Syrian XV. 4 = Chabot, vol. 3, p. 169.

78 See two friendly letters from the patriarch Photius (858–867; 877–886) to an Armenian prince and a catholicus, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani epistolae* I. 9 & 10 = MPG vol. 102, cols. 703–715; cf. G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, London (1962), p. 58, note 3; p. 149; M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, London (1912), p. 49.

oned, since converts were always welcome, that he might thereby gain extra favour with the Church needing, as he did, all support available for an unstable regime — just as about the same time he began on an attempt to convert Byzantine Jews.⁷⁹ But the appointment of Armenian bishops to Byzantine Armenian congregations marked the end of what might nowadays be called the “peaceful coexistence” of the two churches on Byzantine soil. Even as the attempts of Alexius at converting or expelling the Armenians were not the first, so they were not the last: open hostility did not end with him. According to Matthew of Edessa, his son John II Comnenus (1118–1143) followed his father’s example — including the demand for a second baptism.⁸⁰ John’s son, Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) was, for the Armenians, anti-Christ in person: had he not shortened his name from one meaning *deus nobiscum* (Immanuel) to one which meant *a nobis deus* (Manuel, i.e., *minuel*)?⁸¹ The primary cause for this sharpening of religious antagonisms was an exceptional growth of the Byzantine Armenian community during the last quarter of the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century.

One reason why — apart from the disappearance of a serious Monophysite challenge — Byzantine Armenians had been enjoying a measure of peaceful coexistence with the Greeks was that, except for the two transfers of Armenians to Thrace which hardly effected the general situation, they had formed an established, a hardly changing element within the empire. For many centuries, first under Persian then under Muslim pressure, Armenians from many walks of life had gradually made their homes in Byzantium. They became successful merchants and skilled craftsmen. They settled in most of the large cities. They travelled the empire and outside it with their own products and with general merchandise. The more educated among them absorbed the culture of the majority. But these Armenian settlers did not only engage in trade and manufacture. Their country had ever been the seat of war. It had been perpetually fought over not only by the great powers which surrounded it — Byzantium and Persia, then Byzantium and the caliphates — but also by its own feudal nobles. Many of the Armenians who immigrated to Byzantium had been bred to a special aptitude for the military art — “a life of blows given and received which they much enjoyed” as one writer puts it — at any rate, to a life which eminently fitted them for

79 See A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the First Crusade*, London (1971), pp. 95–101; S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign*, Cambridge (1929), p. 65, pp. 78–79.

80 See note 39, above.

81 Samuel of Ani, p. 452, Kuirakos, p. 75.

employment in the armies of the empire.⁸² It was no accident that both Constantine V and John Tzimisces needed them for the defence of the northern frontier. Of course, their abilities in these various fields did not mean that they were necessarily liked. Now and then they had to suffer the abuse which is the common lot of minorities. Armenians, it was said, were cunning, deceitful and evil-tongued; as they rose from obscurity to riches, so they sank lower and lower in depravity.⁸³ He who had an Armenian for a friend, need not wish for an enemy.⁸⁴ But anti-Armenian prejudice cannot have been over-strong. Many Armenians, not invariably of noble birth in their own country, rose to the highest offices of state and even reached the imperial throne. Leo V (813–820), actually called “the Armenian”, was only one of several to achieve this position. An outstanding example was Basil I (867–886), founder of the dynasty which ruled Byzantium for nearly two hundred years and added greatly to its glories. Supposedly a Macedonian, the name by which the dynasty is known, it is usually accepted that he was really of Armenian origin.⁸⁵

It was the eastward expansion of the empire under Basil’s successors in prolonged and successful campaigns against the Muslim rulers of northern Syria and parts of Armenia which brought about the change in the situation of the Byzantine Armenians. Beginning with the occupation of Taron (south-west Armenia) in 968, large numbers of Armenians became subjects of Byzantium. For purposes of security, many of them were taken wholesale and settled within the old frontiers, mostly in Asia Minor, where they quickly spread and multiplied. In Cappadocia, its eastern region, they came to out-

82 See J. Laurent, “Les origines médiévales de la question arménienne”, *Revue des études arméniennes* I (1920), p. 47; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenians and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge (1947), pp. 20–21, 27–28.

83 See the verses in C.A. Trypanis, *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry*, Oxford (1951), p. 43; cf. S. Vryonis, “Byzantium: The Social Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century”, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 2 (1959), p. 173 and note 29. For examples of usages of the word “Armenian” as synonymous with magical practices, mostly evil, see M. Bartikian, “Traces de sectateurs arméniens en Grèce septentrionale”, *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, nouvelle série, I (1964), pp. 331–345.

84 See K. Krumbacher, “Mittel griechische Sprichwoerter”, *Sitzungsberichte zu Muenchen* (1888), p. 246.

85 For a comprehensive survey of Byzantine Armenian emperors, generals and ministers until the end of the tenth century, see P. Charanis, “Armenians in the Byzantine Empire”, *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (1961), pp. 196–228; on Basil I, see N. Adontz, “L’âge et l’origine de l’empereur Basile I”, *BYZ* 8 (1933), pp. 475–500; 9 (1934), pp. 223–260.

number the Greeks.⁸⁶ Armenians, together with other communities also displaced by the Macedonian conquests, so added to the non-Greek population of Constantinople that in 1044 all such foreigners who could not prove a past residence of thirty years were ordered to leave on pain of severe punishment.⁸⁷ The Armenians who were again to be found under Alexius were a part, probably, of a second influx. This time it was composed of refugees from the invasions of the Saljūḳ Turks, who had occupied the whole of Armenia by 1064 and had gone on to occupy part of Asia Minor reversing, that is to say, the conquests of the Macedonians. It was this exceptional growth of the Byzantine Armenian community, whether through Byzantine or Turkish expansion, which sharpened religious antagonisms and led not only to repeated attempts by the authorities at more or less forcible conversion, but also not infrequently to suspicion and hatred of those Armenians who did convert.⁸⁸ The comparatively good relations hitherto existing between Armenians and Greeks were no less eroded by the Armenian reaction to this new aggressive policy. On his march through Asia Minor to meet the advancing Saljūḳs, Romanus IV had to protect his army against an Armenian population infuriated by his missionary activity, while the Greeks there bitterly complained to him that they had suffered more from these Christian fellow-citizens than from the Muslim enemy. At the battle of Manzikert (1071), the disastrous end to this march and to his reign, Armenian units in his army refused to obey his orders.⁸⁹ Fourteen years after the battle Armenians were still attacking Greeks in Asia Minor whenever they had the chance, although both communities by then were under Saljūḳ rule, while the Armenian congregation which Alexius dispersed had been suspected of secret communications with the invader.⁹⁰ When, in 1097, the leaders of the First Crusade brought their armies into Asia Minor, the Armenians welcomed them with unmixed joy. They guided, fed and comforted these weary Western knights, without a doubt greatly smoothing their path to the siege of Antioch. For, however much the faith of crusader and

86 Michael the Syrian XIII. 5 = Chabot, vol. 3, p. 133; cf. N. Adontz, "Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance", *BYZ* 10 (1935), p. 542; Grousset, p. 494, pp. 531-535, pp. 553-555.

87 See G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, vol. 3, Paris (1905), pp. 424-426.

88 See Vryonis, pp. 167-169; I. Doens, "Nicon de la Montagne Noire", *BYZ* 24 (1954), p. 134.

89 *Michaelis Atteliatas Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn (1853), p. 113, p. 135; cf. Vryonis, pp. 171-172.

90 Michael the Syrian XV. 4 = Chabot, vol. 3, p. 173; see note 19, above.

Armenian differed, between them there was no reason for enmity.⁹¹ On the other hand, the Armenians were ready to accuse the Byzantines of an even worse reception of the crusaders than the reality: it was rumoured, for instance, that they had tried to poison their food.⁹² It was the Byzantines who were the enemy of Armenians and Crusaders alike: it was the “sovereigns of Constantinople”, declared an Armenian cleric early in the twelfth century, “whose actions and deeds plainly show the implacable hatred to which they were sworn towards our nation”.⁹³ No wonder that Byzantine writers, on their part, begin to mention Armenians together with Jews — and in exactly the same derogatory terms.⁹⁴ And no wonder that Alexius, on his part, reacted in the way he did to the affair of Nilus and to the situation at Philippopolis, when the universal assumption that the loyalty of the subject was to be equated automatically with the orthodoxy of his doctrine had been so amply demonstrated by the behaviour of the Armenians during the campaign of Manzikert and by the enthusiastic welcome extended by them to the Crusaders — who, in Byzantine eyes, were merely another army of invaders. What is to be remarked upon is, rather, his comparatively gentle way with the Armenians who refused to be converted — gentle, at least, compared to his treatment of the Bogomils from whom, despite his suspicions, he clearly distinguished them. To some extent, it was the Byzantine tradition in these matters. There was no equivalent to the Inquisition: heretical books were burnt — not heretics. The execution of the Bogomil heresiarch (and the threat of execution to his followers if they did not recant) was a very rare, perhaps a solitary instance, even though this was the punishment prescribed by law for Manicheans. But the reason for his comparative gentleness towards the Armenians may also lie in the circumstance that the foregoing picture of hostility and suspicion between them and the Greeks has to be modified in one striking respect.

The new antagonisms and their results hardly affected the position of the highly-placed Armenians. Now, there is nothing strange about this immunity when enjoyed by those who had reached imperial rank. While their rise to it pointed to the degree of integration the community had achieved, their policies towards Armenia and the Armenians were not in the least influ-

91 See S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, Cambridge (1951), pp. 190–192.

92 Samuel of Ani, p. 447.

93 Gregory the Priest CXXVI, ed. & trans. E. Dulaurier, “Le chronique de Grégoire le Pêtre”, DA, p. 191.

94 See A. Sharf, “Jews, Armenians and the Patriarch Athanasius I”, *Bar-Ilan Annual* 16–17 (1979), pp. 31–32, 39–40.

enced by their own origins. Romanus I and John Tzimisces both came from Armenian families as did, for that matter, Anna Dalassena.⁹⁵ But it is certainly remarkable that the number of Armenians holding high civil or military appointments was not noticeably smaller than in the centuries of co-existence⁹⁶ — even when their positive Armenian identity was plain for all to see. One outstanding example was the Armenian noble Grigor, or Gregory. Welcomed at Constantinople in 1044, the very year when ordinary Armenians were ordered to leave the city, he was made governor of the newly-conquered province of Mesopotamia with the title of *magistros* (the old *magister officiorum*), a high honour sometimes accorded to foreign notables.⁹⁷ He loyally served the empire until his death in 1058, especially distinguishing himself by a relentless campaign against every sort of dualism.⁹⁸ Famous both as classical scholar and theologian, the esteem in which he was held by the authorities did not mean that he had converted to Byzantine orthodoxy — the evidence is all to the contrary: during his life and after his death the Armenians extolled both his learning and his extraordinary spiritual graces.⁹⁹ Another example shows how an Armenian noble served three emperors, the third of whom was Alexius himself. This was Vahram, or Philaretus, according to Anna Comnena “remarkable for his courage and intelligence”,¹⁰⁰ who had managed to salvage from the advancing Saljūks a strip of territory for the empire stretching from Antioch to Tarsus. He was created *megas domesticos* by Romanus IV, a title at that period reserved for the imperial family but, like *magistros*, occasionally granted to foreign nobles judged worthy of it; his personal loyalty to Romanus was strong enough for him not to recognize his usurper and successor Michael VII (1071–1078). But he made his peace with the next emperor, Nicephorus III (1078–1081), and was thereupon honoured by him no less with the title

95 On the Armenian family of Romanus I see Charanis, pp. 219–220; on that of John Tzimisces, Emin, *Studies*, pp. 165–166; on that of Anna Dalassena, N. Adontz, “Notes Arméno-Byzantines”, *BYZ* 10 (1935), pp. 178–185.

96 See Charanis, pp. 235–236.

97 See Conybeare, Introduction, p. lxxi; L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris (1949), p. 106.

98 Gregory Magistros, trans. Conybeare, pp. 142–148; V. Langlois, “Grégoire Magistros”, *CHAMA*, vol. 1, pp. 401–403.

99 See e.g., Matthew of Edessa II. 95 = Dulaurier, pp. 154–155; cf. V. Langlois, “Mémoire sur la vie et les écrits du prince Grégoire Magistros”, *Journal Asiatique*, 6-ième série, 13 (1869), p. 18; cf. M. Leroy, “Grégoire Magistros et les traductions arméniennes d'auteurs grecs”, *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 3 (1955), pp. 266–273.

100 Anna Comnena, VI. ix. 2 = Leib, vol. 2, p. 64.

curopalates, continuing to rule his territory as Byzantine governor until most of it fell to the Saljūks between 1084 and 1085.¹⁰¹ His standing with the Byzantines is brought out by Anna's opinion of him: she heartily disliked all Armenians — Monophysite or Chalcedonian.¹⁰² But Philaretus was only one of several Armenians who served Alexius. Much closer to him was Gregory Pacourianus who had been *domesticos* under Michael VII and had been entrusted by him with the execution of seven consecutive imperial rescripts.¹⁰³ Promoted *mezas domesticos* when he helped Alexius to the throne,¹⁰⁴ he was five years in charge of imperial troops.¹⁰⁵ When he was killed in action, Alexius mourned him bitterly "for he dearly loved the man".¹⁰⁶ Here too, Anna, while denigrating her father's other Armenian ministers, cannot but praise Pacourianus, comparing him to a hero in Homer.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, Pacourianus was no assimilated Greek. A faithful servant of the empire like Gregory Magistros and Philaretus, he never forgot any more than they did that he was an Armenian. A monastery which he founded was for his compatriots only: Greeks were explicitly excluded from it.¹⁰⁸

Why did the Armeno-Byzantine nobility remain so unaffected in the eleventh century by the deterioration of relations between Armenians and Greeks — whether between the two churches or between the two peoples? Any explanation must take into account a fundamental change which had by then taken place in the composition of the Byzantine army. For centuries past it had largely been recruited from the free peasants of Asia Minor, holding lands allotted to them by the state in return for military service. This system had been destroyed by the great landlords who had swallowed the peasant holdings and now raised their own armies composed of their own tenants, who were wholly or partly bound to the soil. It was these armies, thus led by a semi-feudal aristocracy, which expanded the eastern

101 See Chalandon, pp. 95–97; Charanis, p. 236; on these titles, see Bréhier, p. 119.

102 For examples, see Buckler, p. 429.

103 See F. Doelger, *Regesten des Kaiserurkunden des ostroemischen Reiches von 565–1453*, Muenchen-Berlin (1924–1932), nos. 1016–1022; cf. A.P. Kazhdan, *Armenians in the Composition of the Ruling Class of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th and 12th Century*, Erevan (1975), pp. 58–65 (in Russian).

104 Anna Comnena, IV. v. 7 = Leib, vol. 1, p. 74; cf. Chalandon, p. 44.

105 Anna Comnena, IV.vi.2, V.iii.2, V.v.1, VI.xiv.1 = Leib, vol. 1, p. 159; vol. 2, p. 14, p. 23, p. 82; cf. Chalandon, p. 66, p. 75, p. 77, p. 81, p. 87, p. 88, p. 109.

106 Anna Comnena, VI. xiv. 4 = Leib, vol. 2, p. 83.

107 Anna Comnena, VI. v. 6 = Leib, vol. 2, p. 73.

108 See Charanis, p. 231, note 177.

frontiers of the empire.¹⁰⁹ And the Armenian nobles of Asia Minor, whether deliberately re-settled there or come as refugees, with their own feudal following or without it, but still with that tradition and with centuries of military experience behind them, not only fitted easily into this new structure but often were highly successful in it. Once more, John Tzimisce, great landlord, great general, finally great emperor (his armies nearly reached Jerusalem), is a good example. Thus, it was not only that the Greek and Armenian elements of this "Asian" military aristocracy, as it was often called, had a common social basis and a common occupation, links which by themselves might merely have led to rivalries and jealousies between Armenian and Greek, but also that the Armenian element had become vital for imperial defence and was recognized to be so, outweighing racial and religious antagonisms.¹¹⁰ If the emperors themselves did not originate from that element, they had need of its support. And so members of the Armenian feudal aristocracy continued to be appointed to positions of power no less than their Greek peers, as was Gregory Magistros by Constantine IX or Pacourianus by Alexius, at a time when Armenians in other walks of life were being expelled from Constantinople, or had their Church closed and their priests driven away. Yet, at the same time, it may have been this long record of loyal service by the Armeno-Byzantine nobility and its integration eventually into the new military and social structure of the empire, unaffected by disputes between the two churches or by distrust between the two races, which influenced Alexius to treat Armenians of any class more gently than he might otherwise have done: to mitigate the potential severity of his efforts at eradicating their heresy. Perhaps it caused him not to hate all Armenians quite so profoundly as Matthew of Edessa believed — or as Anna really did hate them. He certainly seems not to have examined the orthodoxy, any more than had his predecessors, of those Armenians from whom he had benefited, whom he trusted — even, it seems, loved. The end of peaceful coexistence between the two churches had, indeed, limited, but had far from destroyed, the conditions for peaceful coexistence between Byzantines and Armenians in the Byzantium of Alexius.

109 See Ostrogorsky, pp. 239–279.

110 Kazhdan (chart facing p. 160) shows 47 different Armenian families holding important positions between the end of the tenth and the second half of the twelfth century.

JEWS, ARMENIANS AND THE PATRIARCH ATHANASIUS I

Among the letters of Athanasius, patriarch of Constantinople from 1289 to 1293 and from 1304 to 1309, letters now readily accessible in a systematic edition with a translation and commentary,¹ there are four in which he mentions Constantinople's Jewish inhabitants. All four belong to his second term of office. The first was probably written in the summer of 1305.² It asks the bishops of the Synod, the permanent governing body of the Byzantine church, to support him in his plea that the emperor, Andronicus II (1282-1328), deal with a number of current problems. One is that of the Jews and the Armenians. It would be an act pleasing to God, Athanasius tells the bishops, if the emperor expelled both communities from Constantinople. And the bishops must support him here since, in his opinion, a request of this sort requires "a joint supplication,"³ that is a request by the patriarch and Synod combined. The second letter mentioning the Jews also associates them with the Armenians. This letter is addressed to the emperor himself. Its date is uncertain, but it was probably written shortly after the first.⁴ Like many others addressed to the emperor, it is a letter of rebuke: he has failed to do what he ought to have done, both as an example to his sons and as a father to his subjects, who are no less his children. One of his failures is that the Jews and the Armenians have not been expelled. The plea of Athanasius, whether supported by the Synod or no, has gone unheard. But the wording of the letter at this point suggests that it is not merely a sin of omission which is being rebuked: "The people," alleges

1 *Athanasii I Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistolae CXV*, ed. & trans. A.M.F. Talbot, Dumbarton Oaks (1975).

2 See Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 52, lines 7-8.

4 See *ibid.*, p. 345.

Athanasius, "are defiled as they ought not to be by the introduction of Jews and Armenians."⁵ Andronicus is apparently being accused of having brought them himself into Constantinople. And their presence is an evil no less than the other evils now flourishing for lack of a ruler's loving guidance — financial corruption, adultery, incest, sexual perversions, blasphemy and witchcraft. It is because of such sins that Byzantium has had to suffer at the hands of the Ottoman Turks — God's punishment for an emperor's shortcomings.⁶ The third letter, also addressed to the emperor, and written about the same time,⁷ again places Jews and Armenians in the same category. It can be understood as explaining what Athanasius means by their presence defiling the people: It is the wholly unjustifiable religious toleration that both communities enjoy. Both are permitted their houses of prayer in spite of the fact that the Jews sneer at Christian customs, especially at the "pious veneration of images," while the Armenians perpetrate unspecified outrages against the orthodox.⁸ Perhaps this is how both Jews and Armenians defile the capital of a Christian empire. And both have something else unpleasant in common. Both alike, alleges Athanasius, have achieved this immunity of theirs by their readiness to pay for it. In regard to the Jews he accuses a particular official, a certain Kokalas, of taking such bribes.⁹ The fourth letter is primarily concerned with quite a different subject. It asks of two bishops that they make known to the emperor how Athanasius is being hindered in his celebration of the liturgy by those who insist, so he alleges, on a ritual approved by the Pope. This letter belongs to the last year of the patriarchate of Athanasius. It may, indeed, foreshadow his resignation and his retirement to a monastery because the emperor failed to support him against his enemies.¹⁰ Its interest here, however, is that Athanasius thinks to strengthen his case by compar-

5 Ibid., p. 76, line 6; the passage reads, "ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀδίδαχτος κατελείφθη ὁ χοινὸς λαός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ ὡς οὐκ ὄφειλεν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀρμενίων καταμαίνεται". S.B. Bowman, *The Jews in Byzantium 1261-1453*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University (1974), available on Xerox 75-3015 (1977), p. 291, has "so that the untaught common people may not only be besmeared but also not be defiled in the entrance on account of their being in debt to the Jews and Armenians". However, while ὄφειλεν can mean "owe" — i.e. be in debt — as well as "ought", κατελείφθη cannot mean "besmeared" and "in the entrance" seems to make no sense.

6 Talbot, p. 76, lines 8-11.

7 See *ibid.*, p. 348.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 82, lines 10-13; lines 16-17.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 82, lines 13-15.

10 See *ibid.*, p. 433.

ing certain of these enemies to the Jews who also "are against my entering the church of God and proclaiming the sufferings of my Lord as is customary."¹¹ By this he means that the Jews, just like the supporters of western ritual, would hinder his celebration of the liturgy as accepted in Byzantium.

In order to evaluate these four passages, firstly, so far as the Jews of Constantinople are concerned, something must be said about their condition at that time. The beginning of the fourteenth century has a certain significance in the history of Byzantine Jewry. It was then that a new development was nearing its completion: the re-establishment of a community in Constantinople after an interval for the city proper of about two centuries. During the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), the Jews had been transferred from their quarter in the city facing the Golden Horn to Pera, a suburb on the other side of it, and that is where the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela found them when he visited Constantinople in 1168.¹² In the summer of 1203, the leaders of the so-called Fourth Crusade, that is those western nobles who divided the European territories of the empire between themselves, advanced to capture Constantinople, and in the fighting this quarter was burnt to the ground.¹³ It was only after Constantinople had again become the Byzantine capital under the father of Andronicus, Michael VIII Paleologus (1261-1282), that there is fresh evidence of a Jewish community. Its re-establishment may have begun near the end of Michael's reign or at the beginning of that of Andronicus. The latter was quite possibly active in the business, if he did not initiate it;¹⁴ that Andronicus might thus have favoured the Jews is supported not only by the assertion that it was he who actually "introduced" them into Constantinople, but also by a later rescript of his granting various privileges to Yanina, a town of north-western Greece, which included explicitly privileges for its Jews.¹⁵ In any event, the Jews were now allowed back into

11 Ibid., p. 264, lines 9-11.

12 Benjamin of Tudela, *Sefer Mas'ot*, ed. & trans. M.N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London (1907), p. 16 (text), p. 14 (trans.)

13 G.L. Tafel & G.M. Thomas, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II, Band 12, Teil 1, Vienna (1856), p. 297, cf. J. Starr, *Romania*, Paris (1949), p. 25; D. Jacoby, "Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion* 37 (1967), p. 188; Bowman, p. 261.

14 See Jacoby, op. cit., pp. 189-194; Starr, op. cit., p. 27; cf. D. Jacoby, "Venetian Diplomatic Protection to Jews in Constantinople in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Zion* 27 (1960-61), p. 24 (in Hebrew).

15 F. Miklosich & J. Mueller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 5, Vienna (1887), p. 83; cf. Starr, p. 113; Bowman, pp. 292-293.

Constantinople itself — perhaps as part of a policy to rebuild and repopulate a largely ruined and despoiled capital.¹⁶ Their new quarter was in the district of Vlanga, to the south of the city, not far from the shores of the Sea of Marmora.¹⁷

There is another sense in which this was a new community, and not only the re-establishment of the previous one in a different place. It was now composed of two distinct elements. Its members had been attracted to the capital, as was to be expected, from many different parts of what had been or, in some instances, had once more become, the Byzantine empire. However some of the lands or cities that had been lost had not been regained, nor did they belong any more to the crusaders and their descendants. They now belonged to the Republic of Venice. The Jews who came to Constantinople from these Venetian territories could claim Venetian citizenship, exactly as could any other of their inhabitants who, in one way or another, had acquired it. Such Jews enjoyed the protection of the *bailo*, the representative of all the Venetians who lived in Constantinople, while representations could also be made at the imperial court by Venetian ambassadors if privileges granted by Byzantium to Venetian citizens were thought to have been infringed. These privileges were basically commercial. The best known and most important of them was freedom from all taxes levied on the production or movement of various items of merchandise. This privilege was treated very seriously by Venice whether Jews or non-Jews were concerned. In 1290, for example, the "Quarantia," the body appointed by the Venetian senate to administer the criminal law, fixed the penalties to which the governor of a Venetian colony would be subject if found guilty of levying such taxes on a Venetian Jew from which a non-Jewish Venetian would have been exempt.¹⁸ In 1320, the *bailo* at Constantinople was complaining to Venice that Venetian citizens, Christians and Jews alike, were being harassed by various officials into paying taxes in breach of their agreed privilege.¹⁹ It was not only treated seriously, it was also a firmly established privilege and one with a long history. Ever since 1082, when Alexius I had granted the Venetians complete freedom of trade

16 See D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, London (1972), pp. 65-66.

17 *Maximi Planudis monachi epistolae*, ed. M. Treu, Breslau (1886-1890), pp. 50-52 (Letter 31), and cf. p. 261; on the quarter, see R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, Paris (1950), p. 304; cf. Jacoby, *Byzantion*, p. 191.

18 S.M. Theotokes, *Acta et decreta maioris consilii venetiarum res creticas illustrantia*, Athens (1933), p. 30, lines 33-38.

19 G.M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, vol. 1, Venice (1880), p. 165; cf. Bowman, p. 299.

within the empire and exemption from all customs in return for the services of their fleet against Norman invaders, a similar policy had from time to time been forced upon his successors and for similar reasons: lack of means, whether military or financial, to protect themselves against their various enemies. And so the many dangers that threatened his newly established regime forced Michael in 1268 once again to grant the Venetians their traditional preferential treatment, and in 1295 forced Andronicus to confirm that grant.²⁰ Such, then, were the circumstances of the existence of two groups in the new community. There were those Jews who were legally in the control of the Byzantine authorities, and there were those who were virtually outside it since, although it would be exaggerated to suppose a formal extra-territorial status for them, it is obvious enough that these commercial privileges could not but be linked with a great measure of political independence, an independence indeed enjoyed by the non-Jewish Venetians who had their own quarter in Constantinople. It is no less obvious, then, why in this respect at least, the plea of Athanasios could not be granted. The Venetian Jews of Constantinople could not be touched.

However, this was not the only beneficial consequence of Venetian privileges for Jews in Constantinople. The protected status of the Venetian Jews also gave a degree of protection to those directly under Byzantine authority. It did this in two ways, so far as the years when Athanasios wrote his four letters are concerned. Firstly, at the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, Jews from both groups were working together in the leather industry. The Venetian Jews did the skinning, the Byzantine Jews the tanning. In 1318 or 1319 Andronicus forbade the latter because they were benefiting from the tax exemption enjoyed by the former and so causing the state treasury extra loss, and in 1324 this possibility was finally ended when the Venetian Jews were moved to a quarter of their own. But while Venetian and Byzantine Jews formed in this field a single economic unit, Andronicus might well have thought even a selective attack on the community unwise, since the welfare of one group was involved in the welfare of the other and an undesirable reaction from Venice was then scarcely avoidable.²¹ Secondly, the legal distinction between the two groups was not so immutable as would at first glance appear. This was because the definition of Venetian citizenship, of course for Jew or non-Jew alike, could be decided by Venice herself. In 1277, Michael had

²⁰ Tafel & Thomas, *op. cit.*, Band 14, Teil 3, Vienna (1857), pp. 96-97; pp. 327, 329.

²¹ See Jacoby, *Byzantion*, pp. 196-202.

agreed to potentially as drastic a concession as any tax exemption, a concession confirmed by Andronicus in 1285. Whenever there arose a doubtful or disputed case, the *bailo* himself would have the final word on whether someone was a Venetian citizen or not.²² In effect, this meant that Byzantine jurisdiction over any Jew was potentially in doubt, since its exercise depended, if challenged, on the decision of an official who was *ipso facto* outside it. Actually or potentially, therefore, a major obstacle to an attack upon the community, to an attack upon either of its groups was, in one way or another, the special relationship between Venice and the Byzantine Empire.

It is this relatively strong position enjoyed by the Jews of Constantinople, whether Byzantine or Venetian, which is emphasised by what Athanasius himself in fact has to say about them. First and foremost, this position is reflected most clearly in the importance of the man who, according to Athanasius, was willing to grant the Jews favours in exchange for whatever he received in return. Kokalas was a member of a noble family, linked by marriage to that of the emperor, and probably held the office of Great Logariast, the office responsible for the entire working of the financial administration.²³ But the other references by Athanasius are as illuminating if they be understood in the light of what his own position was at the time. His first term of office had been highly controversial. Accustomed from earliest childhood to the strictest of regimens, he was distinguished for his adherence to it in the monastery he entered at the age of twelve. His extreme asceticism and harsh discipline of himself, as of others when in authority, earned him many enemies and helped to bring about his resignation. And he was brought back, as we shall note later, against fierce opposition: all the sources, whether lay or ecclesiastical, almost unanimously testify to his general unpopularity.²⁴ That he thought the Jews important enough to be specifically mentioned as an element in that opposition is shown by the ways in which he links them to church matters.

Firstly, in regard to their presence as such, he is compelled, it appears, to seek the support of bishops many of whom must have been hostile to him: the Synod must help him over the Jews, he says; this is one of the matters where the emperor had better be approached by "a joint supplica-

22 Tafel & Thomas, Band 14, Teil 3, p. 133, p. 142, p. 330.

23 See Talbot, p. 349; on this office see M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicea 1204-1261*, Oxford (1975), p. 147, p. 204.

24 See Talbot, p. xix.

tion."²⁵ Then, there are his particular complaints about the Jews. Both they and certain of his ecclesiastical enemies would disturb him in the celebration of the liturgy. His complaint about the latter is not difficult to understand. In 1274, Michael had tried to gain the help of the papacy against a western threat to the existence of his recently established empire by promising to bring the Byzantine church into a measure of conformity with Roman dogma and custom. Andronicus had repudiated this promise, the Union of Lyons, immediately after his accession, partly because political changes in the west had made it unnecessary, partly because the majority of his clergy had been violently against it. Yet there were those who had welcomed the Union, and this minority had been rigorously punished. However, the extremism of Athanasius would not let him rest: real or imaginary papalists continued in his eyes to be a stumbling block for the orthodox.²⁶ Obviously, he can hardly have been comparing advocates of the Union to Jews in the sense that Jews, too, would have nothing against a Christian liturgy were it only Roman and not Byzantine. Partly he undoubtedly does so because it was standard practice in theological polemic to compare one's opponents to the Jews. But partly he probably does so because, even over an issue where he could expect the support of a majority, his unpopularity made it desirable to emphasise and perhaps exaggerate the importance of the papalist minority by comparing it to another minority about whose importance, it would seem, there could be no argument.

His second complaint against the Jews can be similarly understood: partly as derived from standard polemic, partly in the context of his own struggle. The Jews sneer at the icons, he says, it is chiefly for this reason that it is so wrong to grant them freedom of worship. On the one hand, his choice of this particular reason follows, as in the previous instance, an old tradition. Veneration of icons was supposed to be that Christian custom which, according to the Byzantines, was the one Jews most disliked — its defence had been a cardinal point in conversionist propaganda for hundreds of years.²⁷ On the other hand, for Athanasius, the veneration of icons was also a subject of immediate controversy. Three times at least in his stormy career, it was over this subject that he was at odds with his enemies. One of his chief accusations against the titular patriarch of Alexandria in a quarrel lasting many years was that of iconoclasm. That patriarch, he

25 See note (3), above.

26 See Nicol, pp. 101-102; Talbot, p. 433.

27 See e.g. references in A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London (1971), pp. 79-80, notes 55-58.

alleged, destroyed an icon in order to use its metals for a statue of the emperor.²⁸ Another of his enemies, Niphon, bishop of Cyzicus, he who eventually ousted him from office, was as bad, he said, in a climax to many accusations, as those who "fight against the holy pictures."²⁹ Finally, it was an act of flagrant iconoclasm which, according to Athanasius, caused him to give up his whole struggle. His enemies secretly placed under his footstool an icon depicting the second person of the trinity, the Virgin Mary and the emperor Andronicus so that he would, as it were, place his foot upon it and thus at once dishonour his emperor and his faith.³⁰ The trick was discovered in time, but Athanasius was deeply shocked. In his letter of resignation he gives it as the reason why he cannot continue in the office of patriarch. He cannot bear this attack on his "holy and blameless faith." He will not serve with those who "did not shrink from attacking the holy, theandric [pertaining to God and man, i.e. the second person of the trinity] and venerable image — abomination of desolation, woe is me — also our immaculate Lady the Mother." He ignores the aspect of *lèse majesté*, the equal dishonour to the representation of the emperor.³¹ But there were plenty of other reasons for his resignation which he does not mention, not least that the emperor found the feeling against Athanasius too strong to fight. Nor does this third example, any more than the other two, point to a revival of an iconoclastic movement which Athanasius found himself in the end unable to contend with, a movement of which there had been few signs for some four hundred years. All three examples point only to the special place he gave to the veneration of icons. Thus, his choice of complaint against the Jews, that they sneer at the icons, is comparable to his complaint that they would disturb his celebration of the liturgy. In both, he accords them a comparable status to that of his real and immediate enemies, a comparable importance. In the end, the emperor did not help him against these enemies, whether Jews or Christians. One circumstance must have been particularly galling for Athanasius, even after his retirement. His monastery, on the hill of Xerolophos in the south of the city near the Sea of Marmora, was also near the Jewish quarter.³²

28 Talbot, p. 170, lines 137-140.

29 Ibid., p. 248, lines 35-36; cf. p. 425.

30 Ibid., p. xxv.

31 Ibid., p. 288, lines 25-27.

32 *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Paleologis libri tredecim*, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn (1835), vol. 2, p. 108; on this monastery, see D. Stierman, "Le quartier du Xéropholos à Constantinople et les reliques vénitiennes du Saint Athanase," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 19 (1961), pp. 165-188.

However, the complaints of Athanasius against the Jews have to be understood not only together with those he has against his ecclesiastical enemies but also, as he himself makes them, together with his complaints against the Armenians. Athanasius was not the first to join Jews and Armenians in one condemnation. Hostility to the latter almost as frequently appears in the sources as to the former. As with the Jews, this hostility was primarily religious. Armenian Christianity had from an early period developed on lines of its own. Its dogma and customs differed radically enough from the Byzantine for it to be thought of as practically un-Christian as Judaism or Islam. The Armenian alphabet, said by the Armenians to have descended in letters of fire from heaven, was as strange to the Byzantines as Hebrew, probably stranger than Arabic. The Armenian merchant, the craftsman, the stall-keeper in the bazaar was an explicitly foreign element in urban life just like his Jewish counterpart; at times tolerated, at times persecuted, always disliked and suspected. Thus, in 1044, a riot in Constantinople against the emperor Constantine IX was blamed on Jews and Armenians, of whom many were forthwith expelled from the city.³³ During the reign of Alexius I, just as the Jews were excluded from the city proper, so the Armenians, accused of dealings with the Turkish invaders of Asia Minor, had their church destroyed and their congregation dispersed.³⁴ In 1185, Eustathius, the Archbishop of Thessalonica, complained of how, when his city was being besieged by the Normans, both Jews and Armenians enjoyed excellent rations while the rest of the citizens were starving. What was more, he alleged, the Armenians were enthusiastically cooperating with the enemy and — in phrases precisely foreshadowing those of Athanasius — were committing deplorable outrages on the orthodox.³⁵ In 1204, Armenians settled at Abydos, on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, did co-operate, perhaps not surprisingly, with the empire's enemies. They joined Constantinople's western rulers in an abortive attack on Nicea, the capital of the empire until 1261, retreated with them into Europe and, in the province of Thrace, were massacred by the local population.³⁶ Between 1230 and 1234, Constantine Cabasilas, bishop of Durazzo,

33 See J. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Athens (1939), p. 195.

34 Michael the Syrian XV.7 = J.B. Chabot, *Le chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 3, Paris (1905), p. 185.

35 *Eustathii Metropolitanæ Thessalonicensis Opuscula*, ed. T.L. Tafel, Frankfurt (1832), p. 293; cf. Sharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

36 See Angold, *op. cit.*, p. 32; P. Charanis, "On the Ethnic Composition of Byzantine Asia Minor in the Thirteenth Century," *Studies offered in honour of St. Kiriakides*, Thessalonica (1953), p. 144.

asked the learned archbishop of Ochrida Demetrius Chomatianus if it could really be true that Jews and Armenians were allowed to have their own places of worship. He was answered that this was possible, but on penalty of such places being destroyed if found not conforming to certain strict conditions.³⁷ And so we find Athanasius complaining of Jews and Armenians in much the same terms. But the emperor, with the Armenians just as with the Jews, was unable or unwilling to do anything about it.

The reasons, however, why Andronicus did nothing about the Armenians are very much more a matter for speculation than the possible reasons for his deafness to the plea for the expulsion of the Jews from Constantinople. In contrast to the relatively detailed information on the Jewish quarter, there is nothing whatever known about Armenians settled at that time in Constantinople apart from the references, noted here, by Athanasius himself. It can only be conjectured that, like the Jews, the Armenians had a part to play in the economic rehabilitation of the city. But another reason may be suggested if it be recalled that the Armenians, unlike the Jews, had at that time a country of their own. Armenia herself, that is the country to-day divided between Turkey and Russia, had then for centuries been under Muslim rule. But an indirect result of the first two Crusades had been the establishment of an Armenian state in Cilicia, a tract of country with its coast line stretching roughly from Alexandretta (Iskanderun) in the east to what is now the Turkish holiday resort of Alanya in the west, with a hinterland from Iconium (Konyah) to the Taurus Mountains, an area which included the important centres of Tarsus and Adana. In 1198 Byzantium, in common with the papacy and the western empire, recognised it as the independent kingdom of Armenia. The potential strategic value of Cilician Armenia in the balance of Turks, Crusader states and the new element of encroaching Mongols, caused Byzantium to take an interest in it for the next hundred years, an interest which, quite naturally, took no account of the danger, real or imaginary, from Byzantine Armenians. Thus, about the time that the Armenians of Abydus were making common cause with his enemies, Theodore I Lascaris, Byzantine emperor of Nicea, made what to Cilicia seemed a useful alliance by marrying his son to a princess of the Cilician royal house.³⁸ In 1294, the same patriarch of Alexandria

37 *Demetrii Chomatiani ad C. Cabasilam Responsum XXII*, ed. J. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vol. 6, Paris (1891), cols. 661-664; cf. Starr, *Romania*, p. 81; Bowman, pp. 266-267.

38 See Angold, p. 41; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, London (1969), p. 47.

whom Athanasius accused of iconoclasm, was sent by Andronicus to the Armenian king H̄etum II in search of a suitable princess for Michael, the emperor's son, who had just been crowned co-emperor as heir presumptive.³⁹ H̄etum offered two sisters of his to choose from of whom the eldest Xene, was baptised into the orthodox faith and married Michael. The younger, Theophano, was also allotted a noble bridegroom but died before her marriage could take place.⁴⁰ In 1296, H̄etum paid a state visit to Constantinople which lasted six months. He was the welcome guest of the co-emperor, and took the opportunity to press, albeit unsuccessfully, for a Byzantine alliance against the Mamlukes of Egypt, at that time a serious threat to his country. A little while later he visited Constantinople again to ask for help against his brother whom he had appointed regent during his previous absence and who had seized the throne. In 1299, H̄etum was forced to flee Armenia and Andronicus gave him refuge. Eventually he regained his throne with some Byzantine help, and Andronicus then saw to it that H̄etum's rivals were securely imprisoned at Constantinople, an imprisonment whence they never emerged alive.⁴¹

It certainly does not need emphasising that marriage alliances, or other expressions of friendship towards Cilician Armenia, are hardly to be classed with the preferential treatment forced upon Byzantium by Venice. Byzantium's need for good relations with Venice are not at all comparable with her interests in Cilician Armenia, and so could hardly have afforded the kind of protection to Armenians on imperial territory which Venice gave to those who successfully claimed it. Nevertheless it is not irrelevant to notice that the Armenian marriage, H̄etum's visits and the help given him took place very shortly before Athanasius began to demand the expulsion of Armenians from Constantinople. It may be that these circumstances, together with any influence that the Armenian princess may have exercised on her husband and father-in-law, are among the reasons why her compatriots remained undisturbed.

This unwillingness or inability of Andronicus has also to be considered in the light of his character, and then in that of his relations with Athanasius. It has been said of Andronicus that nature had intended him for a

39 Pachymeres, vol. 2, p. 203; cf. Talbot, pp. 312-313.

40 Pachymeres, *ibid.*, pp. 205-206; cf. G.G. Mikaelyan, *History of the Cilician Armenian State*, Erevan (1952), p. 428 (in Russian).

41 *Haytoni flos historiarum terre orientis*, Documents latins et français relatifs à l'Arménie, ed. C. Kohler and others, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 5 = *Documents Arméniens* vol. 2, Paris (1906), pp. 328-329; Pachymeres, vol. 2, p. 242; cf. Mikaelyan, pp. 428-430.

professor of theology, a subject which engrossed any spare time he had, and that he was but accidentally an emperor.⁴² It is true enough that among the generality of Byzantine emperors, so often theologically inclined, he was an exceptional enthusiast. Yet it ought to be added that comparison to a professor is quite misleading if this implies an academic detachment. His particular sort of enthusiasm sprang from a piety not very common even at that time in a layman. Like any monk, and more than some, Andronicus devoted himself to prayer and fasting. For days at a stretch, he would take no food at all, while he passed the nights in continuous vigils. He gave himself over to the strictest of ascetic practices which were reflected in the strictness of his court and the modesty of its ceremonial.⁴³ Not surprisingly, therefore, he was likely to support the church against the secular administration. He was thoroughly convinced, he once hotly declared, that if the patriarch were judged to have committed a fault, he could not submit himself to the emperor like any common wrongdoer.⁴⁴ And it was to be expected that his passion for theology, quite apart from any political calculation, should make almost the first act on accession to be the repudiation of the Union of Lyons, followed by the persecution of any who continued to support it. But piety and theology brought Andronicus to greater extremes. When his father died on campaign, he ordered that the body be only covered with stones, to protect it from wild animals. Michael VIII did not deserve Christian burial rites, still less a state funeral in the capital. Such was the hatred Andronicus had for his father's Unionist heresy.⁴⁵

Perhaps these same qualities and inclinations of his brought Andronicus to pursue another interest, and one concerning more closely the present discussion. One of the many Byzantine examples of Christian apologetic intended to rebut supposed Jewish objections to Christian dogma or custom is a "Dialogue against the Jews" attributed to "Andronicus of Constantinople."⁴⁶ Forty years ago, in what is still the only complete collection of

42 W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London (1908), p. 176.

43 Pachymeres, vol. 2, pp. 193-194.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

45 *Nicephori Gregorae Historia Byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 1, Bonn (1829), p. 153; cf. Nicol, pp. 93-94.

46 *Andromici Comneni Dialogus contra Judaeos, Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (= MPG), vol. 133, cols. 791-924; trans. A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, Cambridge (1935), pp. 181-187; apart from the seven lines referred to in note 48 below, only Latin versions of the Greek original have ever been printed. Although it has not yet been possible to consult any of the three Greek MSS extant, the fidelity of the MPG version has never, so far as we know, been questioned.

source references to Byzantine Jews before the Fourth Crusade, this Andronicus was identified, albeit with reservations, as Andronicus I Comnenus (1183-1185).⁴⁷ At first glance, what the author says about himself in seven introductory lines of verse seems to support this:

“*Ἡ δογματικὴ τῶνδε τῶν λόγων χάρις,
τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ἐξελέγχουσα πλάνην,
τὰς εὐσεβεῖς δείκνυσι τοῖς πιστοῖς τρίβους.
Ἐγραφα δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀνδρόνικος ἐκ ποθοῦ,
ἀδελφόπαις ἄνακτος, Ἀυσονῶν γένους
Κομνηνοφροῦς, ἐκ Σεβαστοκράτορος
εἰς γῆν προσαχθεῖς, καὶ γλυκὴν βλέψας φάος.*”⁴⁸

(“The doctrinal grace of these words refutes Jewish error and makes manifest to the faithful the paths of righteousness. These words Andronicus lovingly wrote, the nephew of a lord of Ausonian race and sprung from the Comneni, brought into the world by a Sebastocrator to see the sweet light.”)

Andronicus I was the nephew of John II Comnenus. John could be called an “Ausonian,” a poetic way of giving him a good Roman pedigree (the Ausonians were supposedly the original inhabitants of Italy), because the Byzantines thought of themselves and their institutions as Roman — as the only legitimate heirs of the Roman Empire. However, there is no evidence that Isaac, the father of this Andronicus, was ever sebastocrator; nor is it very likely, since this was a new rank created by Alexius I, the father of John and Isaac, which made its holder second in the hierarchy only to the emperor himself — and Isaac was the younger son.⁴⁹ But this is not the real objection to identifying the author of the “Dialogue” with Andronicus I. In expiating on Jewish errors, the author remarks how, as a punishment for them, the Jews have lived in exile until the present year, the six thousand, eight hundred and eighteenth since the creation of the world.⁵⁰ This “year of the world,” according to the so-called “Byzantine Era,” is equivalent to the year 1310 C.E.⁵¹ If the text is reliable here and

47 Starr, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 238.

48 Williams, p. 181, note 4; a Latin version is in MPG vol. 133, col. 793.

49 *Annae Comnenae Alexiadis III.* 4; ed. & trans. B. Leib, *L'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène*, vol. 1, Paris (1937), pp. 113-114; cf. L. Bréhier, *L'Institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris (1949), p. 39, p. 43.

50 MPG vol. 133 col. 869C; Williams, p. 185.

51 See V. Grumel, *Traites d'études byzantines*, vol. 1. *La chronologie*, Paris (1958), p. 260.

it has never, so far as we know, been suggested otherwise, identification of the author with Andronicus I has to be abandoned.

An alternative then presents itself. This "Andronicus of Constantinople," the author of a theological polemic in or shortly after 1310, might not unreasonably be identified with our pious professor of theology, Andronicus II. His description of himself remains valid. The "lord," his uncle, need not be an emperor: the Greek can equally well mean any member of nobility or, indeed, any great man. Nor is his description of that uncle (or of himself; the phrase is ambiguous) as sprung from the Comneni, rather than from the Paleologi, a serious objection, any more than his avoidance of mention that, in fact, he himself was the son of an emperor. It is scarcely to be wondered at that, when introducing a defence of orthodox dogma against the Jews, Andronicus should prefer to mention his father as circuitously as possible. Such a defence could not be compromised by association with one who would have compromised with Rome, the enemy of the Byzantine church much on a par, as Athanasius implied, with the Jews. Similarly it is quite natural that, just as he calls a Byzantine lord "Ausonian," expressing in poetic language the general Byzantine claim of imperial legitimacy, he should make on his own behalf the particular claim of belonging to the family of the Comneni. For the Paleologi prided themselves on what they called this "golden ancestry," because that ancestry, however tenuous in reality, gave them a symbolic claim to the imperial throne.⁵² Another objection does remain, but it is the same as that against identifying the author with Andronicus I. There is no record that Michael VIII ever held the rank of sebastocrator, any more than did Isaac, the father of Andronicus I. At least, with Michael, the holding of such a rank was not so unlikely since his standing at the Nicean court had been very much higher than had been Isaac's at the court of Alexius. The "Dialogue" has only one other personal reference, one that also can readily fit Andronicus II. The author claims that, for the purpose of his polemic, he talked with learned Jews not only at Constantinople, but also in Macedonia and Thessaly.⁵³ Andronicus II visited Thessaly in 1298 and stayed in Thessalonica, one of the chief cities of Byzantine Macedonia, from just before Easter until the end of November, 1299.⁵⁴

This is not the first time that the chronological reference in the "Dialogue" has led to speculation tending, in one way or another, to connect

52 Pachymeres, vol. I, p. 65; cf. Angold, p. 69.

53 MPG vol. 133, cols. 798B—799A.

54 Pachymeres, vol. 2, p. 275; pp. 278-286; cf. Nicol, pp. 126-127.

its authorship with Andronicus II. Its first editor, some three hundred and fifty years ago, already concluded, though proceeding from a slightly different calendrical calculation, that its author must have lived in the fourteenth and not in the twelfth century. The editor of the text as it appears in the standard corpus of patristic and early medieval theological sources, while at the beginning of his introduction attributing the "Dialogue" to Andronicus I, towards the end accepted the chronology of the first editor and suggested that the author may have been someone he called "Andronicus II Comnenus" (sic), or "Andronicus the Younger."⁵⁵ That the "Dialogue" was written at the beginning of the fourteenth century has since been accepted by others, usually with no explicit suggestion for an author.⁵⁶ However, in 1974, the "Dialogue" was attributed, with virtually no discussion, to another Andronicus, a nephew of Andronicus II, about whom scarcely anything is known.⁵⁷ The only advantage of this attribution is that it fits the introductory verses slightly better, but essentially it is the same as that advanced here. For, if it be accepted, the core of the present argument is left untouched: it is hardly likely that this obscure Andronicus could have written the "Dialogue" unless by the inspiration, or even at the very behest of, his theologian uncle. Of course, it is perfectly true that, were it not for the chronological evidence, the introductory lines of the "Dialogue" immediately fit Andronicus I better than Andronicus II and better, for the matter of that, than they do his nephew, the other Andronicus since then, too, the mention of Comnenus instead of Paleologus has first to be interpreted. However, even if the chronological evidence be rejected, it is very unlikely that Andronicus I was the author of the "Dialogue." That particular emperor was known for his total indifference to religious questions. Disputes over the niceties of dogma or ritual, that favourite Byzantine occupation of which the generality of emperors were so fond, bored Andronicus I to distraction. Coming to the throne late in life, after years of rather doubtful adventures and then of intrigue and violence about which there are no doubts at all, his foremost interest was power — to gain it and keep it by any and every means.⁵⁸ His character was the very opposite of our professor of theology by nature and an emperor by accident. And so it seems probable that, directly or through the

55 MPG vol. 133, cols. 793-794.

56 See e.g. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich (1897), p. 91; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. 3, pt. 1, Baltimore (1947), p. 414.

57 Bowman, p. 103, p. 104.

58 See C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, vol. 2, Paris (1909), pp. 92-93.

pen of another, one expression of the piety of Andronicus II, of his religious enthusiasm, was this polemic against his Jewish subjects. Nor is this probability lessened by the fact that the "Dialogue" itself is somewhat unimpressive. It shows no great originality but largely repeats the arguments of its many predecessors. Its explanation, for example, of how the Virgin Mary was supposed by the Christians to be a descendant of King David, its citation of passages in the Pentateuch supposedly referring to the trinity, its tales of Jews supposedly converted to Christianity by wonder-working icons, are all to be found in earlier polemic of this kind.⁵⁹ On the contrary, it is precisely this traditional content of the "Dialogue" which supports the probability that its author was entirely at home in Byzantine apologetics, a subject to which Andronicus II with his theological interests could hardly have been a stranger.

Whatever weight should be attached to the foregoing arguments that one expression of these interests was "The Dialogue against the Jews," there is nothing at all problematic about the way in which the character of Andronicus and his inclinations expressed themselves in another context, in his relations with Athanasius — a context no less relevant to an understanding of the attitude of Andronicus towards the Jews and Armenians of Constantinople. Athanasius, as has been seen, finally resigned when Andronicus had failed to support him against his enemies. But this failure does not in the least reflect what the emperor thought about his patriarch. Athanasius would not have been appointed at all had he not been the personal choice of Andronicus. It is true that, in the first place, the chief reason was that Andronicus thought him to be the very man for bringing back order to a church which apart from the dispute over union had been disrupted, for a variety of causes not germane to the present discussion, by a party in fierce opposition to Michael during the whole of his reign, and scarcely less so to Andronicus.⁶⁰ However, even after it had become only too clear that the new patriarch's uncompromising ideas of discipline were thoroughly antagonising the emperor's ecclesiastical supporters as much as his opponents, Andronicus abated not a jot from the fervent admiration in which he had held Athanasius from the beginning of their acquaintance, since that character, those proclivities of Andronicus, matched so perfectly the demands of an unbendingly strict regime. The influence

59 MPG vol. 133, cols. 800C-805C, 859D-862B; cf. J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London (1934), pp. 291-294.

60 See A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453*, Madison (1928), pp. 659-665.

which Athanasius exercised over Andronicus was indeed so well known that the story of the icon and the footstool was eventually told in an appropriately libellous version: the icon had depicted the emperor with a bit in his mouth and Athanasius holding the reigns.⁶¹ Between 1290 and 1293, unfortunately for these two pious rulers of church and state, Andronicus had often to be absent from Constantinople, and so could not prevent the campaign against Athanasius which ended his first patriarchate. But he took the first opportunity of bringing him back. Nor did the strong possibility that Athanasius, on being forced out of office, had included the emperor's name in a comprehensive anathema of his enemies make the emperor any less eager. On the contrary, so much did the emperor remain his faithful disciple that he thought his return all the more necessary, for only then could the anathema be removed.⁶² In 1303, such an opportunity presented itself. Two mild earthquakes had scared the people. Andronicus persuaded a vast crowd that only the return of Athanasius could save the city from a worse disaster. Yet his patent sincerity, his imperial dignity and the pressure of public opinion together only succeeded in re-instating Athanasius against a hardly yielding ecclesiastical opposition, while his continuance in the patriarchate for a further six years was only achieved by the exercise of every kind of imperial prerogative.⁶³ Nor was it the frequent rebukes — not only about Jews and Armenians — which Andronicus got from his favourite that caused him finally to abandon him, but the growing conviction that the split in the church, with its ever more dangerous repercussions on Byzantine society and on the administration, would not be mended while Athanasius remained patriarch.

Thus, there is an extraordinarily striking contrast. On the one hand, there is the immunity enjoyed by Jews and Armenians — whatever hand Andronicus may have had in actually re-establishing their communities. So far as the Jews went, so remarkable it seems was this immunity that his apparent tolerance towards them has caused some to believe that Andronicus was personally pro-Jewish.⁶⁴ And we have tried to show that scarcely less remarkable was his tolerance towards Armenians. On the other hand, even if he were neither the author nor the inspiration of the "Dialogue," there is enough evidence both about his own character and his relations

61 Gregoras, vol. 1, pp. 258-259.

62 See Talbot, pp. xix-xx.

63 Ibid., pp. xxiii-xxv; cf. Nicol, pp. 109-110.

64 P. Charanis, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Paleologi," *Speculum* 22 (1947), p. 76; Bowman, p. 103.

with Athanasius to make it highly improbable that religious toleration played any part whatever in his thoughts or actions. Quite the contrary: if nothing else, the continued persecution of Unionists suggests the opposite. We have proposed possible economic or political considerations in virtue of which, as against his treatment of Unionists, Andronicus allowed Jews and Armenians to live in comparative peace and security, and this despite the insistence of Athanasius that their presence in Constantinople was on a par with the most heinous of transgressions. The contrast between this policy of Andronicus, both with his character and with the respect he had for Athanasius, emphasises as clearly as possible the political or economic importance attached to the two communities by Andronicus, or by the regime of which he was the head — a situation for which the venality of a single official, however senior, cannot be a sufficient explanation.

AN ARMENIAN KING AT THE COURT OF RICHARD II

During the winter of 1385 Richard II, King of England, received an unusual guest — Leo VI, King of Armenia,¹ who by then had been ten years an exile from his country, lost to the Muslims, and who came to England after having been the guest of Charles VI of France. It seems that Leo was most welcome, that Richard particularly desired his comfort and enjoyment. The necessary safe conduct, issued on October 24th, included permission for Leo and his party to bring with them barrels of French wine.² On his arrival at Dover shortly after, Leo was met by the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, two of Richard's uncles, who conducted him to London.³ He kept Christmas with Richard at Eltham Palace, some nine miles to the south-east, a Christmas prolonged, as was then customary for those whose estate could afford it, by festivities lasting a month or more. On his departure in February he was given two farewell gifts by Richard: three thousand gold nobles — the equivalent of £1,000 in the coinage of those days⁴ — elegantly presented to him in a model

- 1 Sometimes called Leo V, depending on whether the first ruler of that name be included in the regnal lists of Cilician Armenia or no; see G.G. Mikaelyan, *History of the Cilician Armenian State* (Erevan, 1952), p. 475 (in Russian); F. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1910), p. 849 (Index); J. Issaverdens, *Armenia and the Armenians I* (Venice, 1874), p. 354.
- 2 T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscunq̄ue generis acta publica VII*, 481; ed. G. Holmes, 3rd. edn. (London, 1740), III, iii, 186–187.
- 3 See Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1871), XII, 13; for the possible date of Leo's arrival, see L. Mirot, "Une tentative d'invasion en Angleterre pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (1385–1386)", *Revue des Études Historiques*, 81 (1915), p. 438; J. Calmette, "La France et l'Angleterre en Conflit", *Histoire du Moyen Age*, VII, 1 (Paris, 1937), p. 240.
- 4 *Issues of the Exchequer; being a collection of payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive*, ed. F. Devon (London, 1837), p. 229; a noble was reckoned at 6/8d, a mark at 13/4d; see L.T. Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby* (London, 1894), Introduction, p. xcvi (Camden Society, New Series, no. 52).

ship of silver gilt⁵ — and the promise of a further £1,000 every year until he recovered his lost kingdom.⁶ That promise was honoured. In 1391, two years before he died, his emmissaries received a safe-conduct to come to England and collect the instalment then due.⁷ The following year he was still in Paris and his pension was still being paid.⁸

The value of these gifts of Richard's was not inconsiderable when compared to other amounts of money allotted in those days for various purposes. In 1392, for example, the very rich John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Richard's eldest uncle, allowed his son Henry, Earl of Derby, the future King Henry IV, two thousand marks (about £1,300) for the running of his household that year.⁹ In the same year, the total cost of governing Ireland was estimated at eight thousand marks (about £5,000).¹⁰ The so-called tenths and fifteenths, the taxes on moveables for the whole of England, might produce no more than £38,000.¹¹ At the lower end of the scale, it is worth noting that, towards the end of the fourteenth century, £180 could be the yearly landed income of a quite well-off knight.¹² The relatively lavish treatment of Leo which these comparisons suggest becomes more striking in the context of the means Richard had at his disposal. The exchequer was chronically short of money. Not so long before Leo's visit, the financial burden of the French wars had necessitated the imposition of that additional tax which was one immediate cause of the Peasants' Revolt. For such shortages, Richard's personal expenditure was now more and more being held to blame, and his demands for money were provoking the fiercest of opposition from the magnates and from parliament. Precisely during the autumn and winter of 1385 he was insistently told that the exchequer might be in better case if he were more careful with his gifts.¹³

- 5 *Thomae Walsingham Ypodigma Neustriæ*, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1876), p. 343 (Rolls Series no. 28); cf. *Historia vitæ et regni Ricardi II a monacho de Evesham consignata*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1729), p. 69, — normally not an independent source for this period but here giving the correct date which Walsingham does not.
- 6 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Reign of Richard II, III* (London, 1900), p. 110 (Rolls Series no. 164).
- 7 Rymer, *Foedera*, VII, 706 (Holmes, III, iv, 71).
- 8 *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 245–246.
- 9 See K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p. 99. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Stuart Cohen, for drawing my attention to this work and to that cited in the next note. The sum in pounds is according to Smith (note 4, above), as is the sum referred to in the next note.
- 10 A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), p. 155.
- 11 E.B. Fryde, "Parliament and the French Wars", *Historical Studies of the English Parliament I*, ed. E.B. Fryde & E. Miller (Cambridge, 1970), p. 247.
- 12 McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 96.
- 13 Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 99.

What, then, were Richard's motives for his gifts to Leo? First of all it is, of course, highly probable that anger at this opposition was one of them, anger at this attempt to limit personal expenditure — every mediaeval king's most sensitive, most vulnerable point, and particularly so with Richard. No one had the right to dictate what gifts he gave. He would have his way and brook no denial, with a stubbornness (or a justifiable interpretation of royal privilege) which, not very long after Leo's death, would lead to his own deposition and murder. And there is no doubt of the magnates' hostility in this specific instance, sufficiently strong to make him react by emphasising his hospitality. If Cambridge and Buckingham obeyed the command to greet the visitor their words of greeting, as will be seen, were hardly warm, and there were many quick to declare that Richard was being deceived by this Armenian trickster who was only looking for an easy life at other people's expense.¹⁴ However, it is also probable that there were more reasons than merely an inveterate inclination to provoke his magnates for Richard's generosity to an obscure and exiled oriental monarch. For these, it is necessary to consider Leo's own declared purpose in coming to France as to England: the reconciliation of the two countries, then in the middle of that intermittent conflict afterwards called the Hundred Years' War, so that they would be free to help him regain his lost kingdom, an act which would at the same time be the opening of a new crusade.

This linking of Armenia with the crusades was no invention of Leo's; it had by his day a long history. The Armenia ruled by him lay to the south-west of Armenia proper, itself long since under Muslim domination of one kind or another. At its greatest extent, during most of the thirteenth century, this later Armenia had been an independent and relatively powerful Christian state, whose centres were in that part of Asia Minor known as Cilicia to classical and mediaeval geographers. Its coast line had extended from slightly south of Alexandretta (Iskanderun) to the longitude of Iconium (Konyah), that is approximately to the modern seaside resort of Alania, and its hinterland to the lower ranges of the Taurus Mountains. The establishment of Cilician Armenia had been warmly welcomed in the West: at his coronation in 1198 its first king had received his royal insignia from the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, at the hands of the imperial and papal legate the Archbishop of Mainz.¹⁵ The reason for this welcome is to be found in its importance for "Outremer", for the Crusader kingdoms: Cilician Armenia alone remained to guard the northern

14 *Thomae Walsingham quondam monachi S. Albani Historia Anglica* II, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1864), p. 151 (Rolls Series no. 28).

15 For a succinct account of this period in Armenian history, see Sirarpie der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (London, 1969), pp. 44-53.

approaches after the loss of the County of Edessa and of most of the Principality of Antioch.

It might be thought, after Antioch had fallen in 1268 and Acre in 1291, after the last crusader castles in Syria and Palestine had been lost at the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the importance of Cilician Armenia would have greatly increased for the West, since it then was one of the two remaining bases — the other was Cyprus — from which a serious counter-attack could ever be mounted. But the reality was different. During the first half of the fourteenth century, when it was the turn of Armenian territory to be steadily eroded by Egyptian or by Turkish conquests, the West showed little interest. Between 1306 and 1321 for example, a certain Marino Sanuto, a Venetian living on the then Genoese island of Naxos in the Aegean, wrote to Philip V, King of France, explaining how a quite small expeditionary force could help Armenia and, thus, a new crusade; how, at the same time, both Venice and Genoa should be persuaded to divert their trade from Egypt, thus denying it the opportunity of buying materials useful for war, to trade routes through Armenia itself, thus strengthening it, and through lands ruled by the Mongols, who would be able to help against both Egyptians and Turks as they had done before. However, although there had been talk of a new crusade, Sanuto's proposals were ignored.¹⁶ Another proposal, which actually included a two-pronged thrust from Cyprus and from Armenia, was widely discussed at about the same time as Sanuto's, but achieved no better result.¹⁷

The next appeal for European help came, as Leo's was to come, from an Armenian king and was addressed, as Leo's was to be, to the kings of France and England. At the beginning of 1343, Guy de Lusignan, of the same family as Leo and, like him, of mixed French-Armenian origin,¹⁸ wrote to Edward III for help against the enemies threatening his country.¹⁹ That summer, Guy's ambassadors arrived in London having already been received, as Leo was to be, at the French court.²⁰ In September Edward wrote to Guy expressing the great concern that the description of Armenia's plight had caused. However, to his great regret, his own engagement in the French war prevented him from taking any action. Yet, for all his concern, he cannot have read Guy's letter

16 Marino Sanuto, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (Hanau, 1611), pp. 5–6; on the date of composition and the author, see Mikaelyan, pp. 451–452; cf. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 440–441.

17 See Runciman, *Crusades*, p. 433.

18 On the Lusignan family, see A. Molinier, "Famille de Lusignan", *La Grande Encyclopédie* XXII (Paris, n. d., series 1887–1902), cols. 775–776.

19 Rymer, *Foedera*, V, 358 (Holmes, II, iv, 141).

20 *Ibid.*, V, 375 (Holmes, II, iv, 148).

very carefully, since he addressed him by the name of his dead predecessor — although the letter to Edward had ended explicitly enough with the words *Guido Armenorum rex*.²¹ Guy's ambassadors had had no better luck with the King of France, Philip VI.²² Again, as twenty years previously, there had been plans for a crusade, perhaps more serious ones on this occasion, and much encouraged by the pope, John XXII but, on the outbreak of hostilities between England and France, they came to nothing.²³ In 1347, the pope Clement VI appealed to Edward directly, asking him to make peace with France and help the Armenians.²⁴ He did not even get a reply. In 1362, there seems to have been another similar appeal to Edward. Certain "Armenian knights" seized the opportunity of a tournament held in his presence to which they, among other visitors, had been invited, by asking his help "against the unbelievers who had invaded their borders".²⁵

No more is known of this last appeal; presumably there was even less of a reaction to it than there had been to the others. In any event, by then it was probably too late. The beasts, as Sanuto had put it,²⁶ between whose jaws Armenia was gripped — the Turks and the Egyptians, the Venetians and Genoese who helped them by trading with them — were now tearing her to pieces. In 1365, after three years of virtual anarchy, the throne was offered to Leo, the other Lusignan to reign in Armenia. For nine years the obvious lack of unanimity behind the offer discouraged him, while Genoese intrigues, whatever his inclinations, prevented him from accepting.²⁷ When, in 1374, he finally entered the mountain capital of Sis, there was little else of Cilician Armenia left over which to reign.²⁸

Yet Egyptian and Turkish conquests, Genoese intrigues and internal disorder were not the only forces of destruction. To them was added religious dissension. The Armenian Church accepted neither the Roman nor the Byzantine dogma. However, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the papacy had redoubled its long pursued missionary efforts among the Armenians, efforts in which its blessing on the establishment of the Cilician kingdom had been the

21 *Ibid.*, V, 387 (Holmes, II, iv, 152); cf. letter referred to in note 19, above.

22 See Mikaelyan, *History of the Cilician Armenian State*, p. 460.

23 See A.S. Atiyah, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 96–111.

24 Rymer, *Foedera* V, 544 (Holmes, III, i, 4).

25 Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* I (London, 1863), pp. 296–297.

26 Marino Sanuto, *Liber secretorum*, p. 32.

27 Jean Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, ed. C. Kohler, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, II (Paris, 1906), ch. 54 (Kohler, pp. 43–44); on this source, see text to note 38, below.

28 See Mikaelyan, *History of the Cilician Armenian State*, pp. 469–471; Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, Introduction, p. viii, note 4.

first important step. Now repeated promises of military aid from the West, perhaps in the form of a full crusade, as the reward for conversion, began to show results. By 1316 a catholic faction had emerged strong enough to cause a proclamation of union with Rome at a synod of the church.²⁹ In 1346 the papacy obtained a formal declaration from most of the nobility pledging the explicit profession of the catholic faith by the whole of the Armenian people, merely in return for the promise of financial upkeep for sufficient soldiers to defend what was left of the country. In other words, whatever the appeals to France or England, there was no belief in the possibility of a genuine military response, whether or not labelled a crusade. But money for mercenaries was also not forthcoming. A promised yearly subsidy of 12,000 florins (a little under £2,000)³⁰ was never paid on the grounds that the pledge of national loyalty to Rome was not being kept.³¹ Indeed, it could not be. Papal blandishments had no other effect than to divide the Armenians ever more irreconcilably into so-called "unionists" and "schismatics", the latter considerably more numerous because of a natural disinclination to abandon nearly a thousand years of ecclesiastical autonomy.³² Repeated proclamations of loyalty only emphasised their uselessness as means of defence for Armenia — just as similar proclamations a little while later were equally useless for Byzantium.

The Franco-Armenian Leo of Lusignan was as faithful a catholic as Guy de Lusignan had been, and was warmly recommended for that reason to the Armenians by Pope Urban V.³³ But Leo must have remembered that Guy was murdered after three years on the throne, and so made an extraordinary effort to win at the outset, at least in religion, the loyalty of all his subjects. Unwilling to forego the rites of his own church, he had himself crowned between two altars, at one of which officiated the catholic Bishop of Hebron and at the other Paul I, the "Catholicos" or patriarch of Armenia.³⁴ It may have been this double ceremony which impressed Richard, causing him to single out Leo's "toleration" as one reason for the loss of his kingdom.³⁵ It certainly did not help him with the Armenians. If his journey to Sis through hostile territory had been made even more hazardous by conspiracies,³⁶ a few short months after this coronation of his he was compelled to surrender his country and himself

29 See Tournebiz, *Histoire politique et religieuse*, pp. 309–400.

30 See Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia*, Introduction, p. cii.

31 See Mikaelyan, *History of the Cilician Armenian State*, pp. 462–463.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 444; cf. Tournebiz, *Histoire politique et religieuse*, p. 719.

33 Issaverdens, pp. 354–355; Mikaelyan, *History of the Cilician Armenian State*, pp. 469–470.

34 Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, chs. 81–82 (Kohler, pp. 65–66).

35 Reference as in note 8, above.

36 See Tournebiz, *Histoire politique et religieuse*, pp. 710–712.

to the Egyptians, through the desertion of his followers and the treachery of the Catholicos. The Armenians, it seems, as the author of the source describing these events puts it, "preferred to be under the dominion of the Saracens than under the rule of their natural lord. Indeed," he adds, "for the past hundred years they have always killed their best kings".³⁷ The author was the Franciscan monk Jean Dardel who became Leo's secretary and fervent admirer during his imprisonment in Cairo, writing largely at his dictation. The result, biased as it must obviously be, is nevertheless the sole extant source for the last years of Cilician Armenia and for some of Leo's subsequent vicissitudes.³⁸

It was with Dardel's help that Leo eventually managed to obtain his release through the intervention of John I King of Castile — but it took him five years. Perhaps even after his downfall Leo was still a figure of some danger in the eyes of the Egyptian sultan, a figure around whom the Europeans might yet rally for a crusade. Between 1382 and 1388 Leo did enjoy some importance in Europe, however complete his failure to achieve any such thing. John heaped him with honours, granting him the feoffs of Madrid, of Villareal and of Andujar,³⁹ and wrote enthusiastically on his behalf to Charles VI.⁴⁰ He was invited to put his plans for an Armenian crusade both before the Roman Pope Urban VI and the Avignonese Clement VII, eventually choosing the latter as the one supported by France and Spain.⁴¹ At the end of June, 1384, he arrived in Paris and was given a magnificent reception. Charles presented him to the French magnates and invited him to participate in the Royal Council although, born in Armenia and brought up in Cyprus, he knew little Latin and less French.⁴² He was straightway granted a luxurious residence and an annual pension of six thousand francs (about £2,000).⁴³ It should be remembered that while Charles, then fifteen years old, was technically of age, France was being ruled by the Regents, his uncles;⁴⁴ the favours bestowed upon Leo came not merely from the decisions of a romantic youth because "neither he nor his predecessors had had this honour of a visit from so illustrious a prince, from so distant a land".⁴⁵ The

37 Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, ch. 102 (Köhler, p. 79); cf. Tournebiz, *Histoire politique et religieuse*, p. 725.

38 Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, Introduction, p. xiii.

39 *Ibid.*, ch. 142 (Köhler, p. 107).

40 *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. M.L. Bellaguet, I (Paris, 1839), p. 324 (text)/325 (trans.).

41 Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, Introduction, pp. vii–viii; Mirot, p. 436.

42 *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, p. 326/327.

43 Froissart, XII, 12; cf. Mirot, p. 437, note 3; for the sum in pounds, see Smith, Introduction, pp. civ–cv.

44 See J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom* (London, 1972), p. 25.

45 *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, see note 40.

exiled King of Armenia, in his call for a crusade to recover the last remnant of Outremer, still commanded respect, if little else, when he proclaimed an ideal which had not yet faded from the conscience of the West.

It was with this aura about him that Leo, in the early autumn of 1385, addressed the members of Charles' Council on the subject of peace with England — and in spite of the linguistic difficulty appears to have made himself well understood. The achievement of peace was, of course, for him just a preliminary step, but he was shrewd enough not to describe it as such.⁴⁶ He spoke of no crusade but only of how, while fighting the English was most praiseworthy, it was still more praiseworthy not to fight if France's aims could be otherwise obtained. To that end he offered himself as negotiator, since the English had no reason to dislike him as they would a Frenchman.⁴⁷ Leo spoke to more or less willing ears and offered his services at a favourable moment; only that summer a plan to invade England had come to nothing.⁴⁸ On the other hand, recent successes against England's Flemish allies had placed France, so it seemed, in a strong position for peace negotiations. And so Leo's proposal was accepted.⁴⁹ But it is hardly surprising that he himself, contrary to his expectations, was not so readily accepted as an impartial negotiator. Even before his arrival "the English were accusing him of being pro-French."⁵⁰ No more surprising is it that disclaimers to Cambridge and to Buckingham, and then to other magnates in Richard's presence did little to dispel this suspicion, a suspicion which partly accounted for their inveterate hostility to him: he had not been "sent" by Charles he repeatedly insisted, but had come of his own accord to put forward his own proposals for a peace between England and France. When asked if, therefore, he had no authority to negotiate, he replied that he had the authority to promise a halt to any preparations for a fresh campaign while he was Richard's guest.⁵¹

However, the true issue was neither Leo's impartiality nor the nature of his diplomatic status, any more than it was his sincerity — whether his true purpose was only to ensure for himself a comfortable life in exile, as some of the magnates asserted. The issue was the possibility of peace with France. And it was on this issue that Richard differed from the majority of the magnates of England. Richard could see no sense in continuing a war which had consumed most of his grandfather's energies with little result to show for it, which had been

46 *Ibid.*, pp. 320/321 — 322/323.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 420/421.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 418/419; cf. Mirot, pp. 285–287.

49 See Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp. 60–61, 67–68.

50 *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, p. 422/423.

51 Froissart XII, 14–16.

the cause of social disruption to the point of anarchy, and which was liable to hinder his own chief aim: the assertion of his "regality", of his royal prerogative. For the magnates, the position was exactly the opposite. The customary ways in which armies were raised and commanded usually increased their prestige whenever England was at war, while if continuous war weakened the regality this was precisely what the majority of them wanted. And the continuation of this particular war increased their prestige for a further reason: however chimerical its aims of extending, or even preserving, a territorial conquest in France, the war was popular — if only because peace without victory was not. It was partly in order to further his peace policy that Richard gathered around him his own group of supporters, and it was partly over this policy of his that those supporters were eventually dispersed and destroyed.⁵² Ignoring, therefore, the question of Leo's status or authority as, indeed, his granting of a safe-conduct had already, he invited him to address the Royal Council, just as Charles had done.

Leo addressed the English very differently from his address to the French. The Christian East had always admired England, he said, and would continue to do so were it not for England's refusal to make peace with France; it was this refusal, he was forced to admit, which had placed him in his present unfortunate situation. It was Richard's duty, instead of fighting the French, to lead together with them a new crusade which would regain Leo his kingdom and then free the Holy Land from the yoke of Islam. But even if Richard was not ready for a crusade, he should remember that the war had gained England nothing and never would. Its cause was the ambition to conquer the whole of France, and this could never be achieved. France had been united under her kings for centuries and, since the foundation of power in a realm was the obedience and unity of its subjects, the realm of France was indestructible.⁵³ Richard declared himself not best pleased by these criticisms, much as he probably agreed with the substance of what Leo said — the plea for peace: the precondition for any negotiations, he replied, was the return of the territories originally in dispute — Normandy and Aquitaine.⁵⁴ But the substance of his reply, however genuine his irritation at Leo's tactlessness, was no more than a gesture of conciliation to his magnates who had voiced precisely this objection: after it was known that the French had evacuated the territories they had illegally occupied, it would be time to speak of treaties.⁵⁵ In fact, Richard was

52 Cf. A.R. Myers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1952), p. 7, pp. 16–17.

53 *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, p. 424/425.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 426/427.

55 Froissart, XII, 17–18.

set upon negotiations and upon Leo as an active participant if not an intermediary, whatever the objections of the magnates, and however much he may have disliked Leo's far from impartial exposition.

Thus, on January 22nd, 1386, a decision to open negotiations with the French was taken explicitly, in Richard's words, "because of the prayers and entreaties of our cousin the King of Armenia".⁵⁶ And these negotiations, although they came to nothing, were seriously pursued. Between February 3rd and March 28th, the delegates of the two countries nearly succeeded in arranging a meeting between Richard and Charles.⁵⁷ A few months later Leo tried again. Soon after negotiations had been broken off, the French began on a new plan for the invasion of England and in Septmeber, although the season for such an operation had passed, they had by no means abandoned it. A great fleet was still concentrated at Sluys on the coast of Flanders, while over most of England instructions to raise and maintain troops on a war footing, together with many other measures for defence taken that spring and summer, were still in force.⁵⁸ It was at this unpropitious moment that Leo once more got into touch with Richard — and the reply he received and passed on to Charles was favourable enough for the latter to agree that negotiations should be re-opened. But this time, when Charles wished to send Leo to London as his intermediary, the necessary safe-conduct, which had previously been renewed, was in the end refused.⁵⁹ The reason was that, shortly after this new approach by Leo, Richard's peace policy had suffered a severe and sudden set-back. Its proponent, Michael de la Pole, Richard's chief minister and created Earl of Suffolk for his loyalty, was overthrown. The Council fell into the hands of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester (Richard's youngest uncle), the leader of the war party and of the whole opposition to Richard, he who a little more than a year later was to be the guiding spirit of the Lords Appellant, the men who managed the aptly named "Merciless Parliament", removing with its approval, by violence or otherwise, most of Richard's friends.⁶⁰ Yet, for all that, in April, 1387, Richard again found it possible to correspond with Leo about peace negotiations — though obviously with no result and with no chance of bringing Leo to

56 Rymer, *Foedera*, VII, 491-2 (Holmes, III, iii, 191).

57 *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, p. 426/427; Mirot, p. 440; cf. also L. Mirot & E. Déprez, *Les ambassades anglaises pendant la "Guerre de Cent Ans" II*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* fasc. 60 (Paris, 1900), pp. 207-208.

58 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, III, 217, 258-261; cf. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp. 74-75.

59 Rymer, *Foedera* VII, 502-3 (Holmes, III, iii, 195); cf. Palmer, pp. 84-85.

60 *Henrici Knighton vel Critton Chronicon* II, ed. J.R. Lumby (London, 1895), p. 249 (Rolls Series no. 92); cf. Tuck, pp. 121-137.

London.⁶¹ Even this was not the end of Leo's efforts at mediation or of Richard's interest in them. In Septmeber, 1388, a Scottish invasion and growing money difficulties compelled the Lords Appellant to revise their French policy and abandon their refusal to consider a peace. It was then that Richard, with the full approval of the Council, instructed Gloucester to emphasise in a letter to the Duke of Burgundy that the new negotiations, now in train, had been initiated once again at the request and the prayers of "your cousin and ours the King of Armenia", who was a wholly disinterested party — only concerned with a truce which would profit both France and England and thus all Christendom.⁶²

Richard's treatment of Leo, therefore, was not only the product of an angry reaction to criticisms of his extravagance or to attempted curbs of his authority. It was also an integral element of his whole struggle against the magnates in a sphere he judged most important — the dispute over foreign policy, over his search for peace with France. And, since here Richard trusted Leo in exactly the way that Charles did, since he considered Leo, just as did Charles, despite repeated disappointment, to be a potentially successful mediator, the favours Richard bestowed on him were not merely gestures intended to provoke — though they were probably that too. When Charles lavished gifts Richard, if only to preserve parity in the negotiations, had to do likewise. It can hardly be accidental that Leo's French and English pensions were of identical value.

This identity of attitudes between Richard and Charles also applied, if with even less of a practical outcome, to Leo in his other capacity — his chief one so far as he himself was concerned — to Leo as the preacher of a crusade which, logically enough, could begin with the recovery of Cilician Armenia. The absence of a response from Richard or his Council to Leo's plea for his lost kingdom did not mean an absence of sympathy. On the contrary, as distinct from an Anglo-French truce, such a plea probably commanded, in principle at least, a sympathy which Richard shared not only with Charles and the French nobility but also with his own magnates. As has been seen, Leo brought the latest of such pleas, all of which had failed but most of which had produced some sort of response. So Leo, too, could not be ignored. If neither Richard nor Charles had apparently not even discussed it, it was this plea of Leo's which was partly the reason why he had been received at all — and why his reception in both countries had been so warm. If nothing could be said about a crusade, still less done, at least its advocate could be especially honoured, as he had been honoured by John of Castile and by two Popes. It was not only the hopes of a

61 See Palmer, p. 107; Calmette, *La France et l'Angleterre*, p. 246.

62 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, III, 502-503.

truce that inspired Leo's treatment by the kings of France and England. But sympathy towards Leo was not confined to the two kings. While the still living idea of a crusade produced few serious preparations, and fewer campaigns worthy of the name, during the fourteenth century until, in 1396 the disastrous Crusade of Nicopolis finally killed it, it did express itself in another way. The individual nobleman who fulfilled his vows to take the cross by making a pilgrimmage, or by joining a war against the infidel in some land or other, was by no means a rarity and was much admired. It was in this way that the French knight Boucicault, one of the few efficient leaders at Nicopolis, had first acquired his reputation when, in his youth, he had made a pilgrimmage to Palestine and the Sinai monasteries, and had fought the Muslims in North Africa.⁶³ An English example was the Earl of Derby who, between 1390 and 1393, both visited Palestine and fought pagan or reputedly pagan Lithuanians.⁶⁴

The ideal of the individual crusader acquired a fresh vitality from its support by Philippe de Mézières (1313-1405),⁶⁵ who spent the last forty years of his long and extraordinary life propagating it, after having himself fought Muslims, managed the affairs of Cyprus, advised Charles V of France, and prepared the future Charles VI for the throne. In 1368 he put forward proposals, which he repeated several times, for a new order of kinghood whose members would be vowed to the succour of the Christians in the East.⁶⁶ But their first task would be the achievement of peace between France and England; this was the necessary precondition for any successful plan of succour.⁶⁷ Between 1385 and 1395 he gained impressive adherents both from the French and the English nobility. Among the English they included the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Lancaster.⁶⁸ However little enthusiasm the English had for an Anglo-French truce, magnates such as these did show a great deal for the main burden of Philippe's teaching. Some, like the Earl of Derby, were inspired to go on various individual enterprises. The Duke of Lancaster became one of the initiators of the movement which ended at Nicopolis. Another of

63 See J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en orient au xive siècle* I (Paris, 1886), pp. 159-165 (*Bibliothèque de l'écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 44).

64 Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 198; Knighton II, 27, 314; Smith, Introduction, pp. xxxvii-xliii.

65 For these dates, see A. Molinier, "Description de deux manuscrits de Philippe de Mézières", *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I (Paris, 1881), p. 336, p. 337.

66 Molinier, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, pp. 339-342; cf. Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. & trans. G.W. Coopland, Liverpool University Press (1975), Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxviii; xxxiii-xxiv; text, pp. 103-106; trans., pp. 30-33.

67 Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, p. 187.

68 Molinier, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, pp. 363-364.

Philippe's English adherents led the English contingent who fought there.⁶⁹ It was through the Duke of York and the Duke of Gloucester that Philippe, in his turn, explained to Richard how it was his duty to help the Christians of the East, and how this duty could only be fulfilled by making peace with France.⁷⁰ It was only the latter which actually was fulfilled — by Richard's marriage to Isabella — but, in his reply, Richard willingly accepted both.⁷¹

This appeal of Philippe's to Richard and his magnates was very like Leo's — and this was not accidental. When Leo came to Paris he quickly became Philippe's close friend and the enthusiastic promoter of his schemes, not suprisingly so since their aims were, in effect, identical: the restoration of catholic states in the East, whether it was the Kingdom of Jerusalem or, in Leo's eyes, the no less catholic Kingdom of Armenia, aims which only the chivalry of France and England in union could hope to attain. Leo, before he met Philippe, had even the idea of a new order of kinghthood devoted to those aims.⁷² And so, when Leo came to Richard's court there clung to him not only his personal aura, the aura of the last king of Outremer, but also the aura of his friend, a figure far more famous than he, as the great propagandist on behalf of the Eastern Christians in their adversity. This aura, this reputation of Leo's, his own or borrowed, reflected on him by his friend, may have eventually even influenced the English magnates in his favour, for all that they disliked any prospect of a French peace, and had given him, as has been seen, no very affectionate reception. It is possible that a final appeal by him, just before his death in 1393, was listened to with considerable sympathy by no less a person than the Duke of Lancaster — and by the Duke of Gloucester too, he who five years pviously had forced Richard to withdraw his safe-conduct.⁷³

As for Richard, this other, this primary capacity in which Leo appeared before him — the lone crusader, the figure so greatly popularised by Philippe his friend and fellow-planner — this capacity of Leo's, was probably also a reason for Richard's lavish treatment of him, empty gesture though in the light of what was asked it actually was. For Leo's own story, the story of the end of Cilician Armenia, was indeed the story of a lone crusader, of a brave knight

69 See A.S. Atiyah, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934), pp. 46–48; *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* IV, ed. S. Ljubič (Zagreb, 1874), pp. 340–341.

70 See N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au xive siècle* (Paris, 1896), pp. 480–481 and note 8, 485–487 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 110); Froissart XV, 195–202.

71 See E. Perroy, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II* (London, 1933), p. 160, no. 219.

72 See Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, pp. 462–463.

73 See Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, p. 187.

who had fought the Muslims in Outremer almost single-handed, who in the face of every trial and sorrow had remained a faithful son of the Church and who, like many another crusader, had been defeated through the treachery of his companions. It was a story that must have lost nothing in the telling. So, no doubt, Richard daily faced by his own tribulations, by the disloyalty in his eyes of his own advisers, listened and sympathised. Perhaps his sympathy was expressed in the very unusual words with which the document authorising Leo's pension ended: "The curse of God, St. Edmund and the King on any that contravene this grant".⁷⁴

Leo of Lusignan was the last ruler of an independent Armenia. For just six hundred years, the Armenians have had no land to call their own. Ruled, and often persecuted, by Turks or by Russians, dispersed to the four corners of the world, they have nevertheless managed to preserve their national and their religious identity, wont to compare themselves in this respect to the Jews. But Leo himself, perhaps because of his loyalty to catholicism, has been almost forgotten. Fifteen years ago a French Armenian, in a five-act play of doubtful dramatic value, chose his downfall to illustrate the tragedy of the Armenian people,⁷⁵ and his effigy can be seen among the effigies of the kings and queens of France at St. Denis. But his tomb that it decorates, as theirs, is empty, the contents having been removed in an outburst of French revolutionary fervour, and his bones are mingled with theirs in the common ossuary.

74 Reference as in note 6, above.

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* The publisher thanks all the bodies that granted permission to reprint these articles.

האיצטגנינות לא הייתה מעולם מדע "יהודי", וכמות החומר האסטרולוגי בעברית היא מיערה מאד²⁸. בכל זאת, העובדה שדונולו מגביל החלטית את ההשפעות האסטרולוגיות למאקרוקוסמוס, שהתלי שלו משל בו "בין בטוב ובין ברע", הייתה לא רק תוצאה של הסתייגויות אלו. היא הייתה במידה שווה תוצאת קביעתו שבדימויים אל המיקרוקוסמוס בבחינתו הפיסית צריכות להכריע דוגמאות פיסיות, שניתן ככל האפשר להבינן במונחיהן שלהן, שיהיה ניתן לבארן בדרך הטבע.

גישה מקורית זו של דונולו, בלתי רגילה למדי בימיו ובתקופתו²⁹ הייתה בעצמה, במידת מה תוצאת חייו והישגיו הבלתי רגילים. יש לזכור שבהיותו נער בן שתים עשרה הוא והוריו נפלו בשבי כאשר נבזזה אוריה בידי פושטים מוסלמים בשנת 925. הוא מתאר איך נפדה בידי ענף אחר של משפחתו בטארנטו אך אינו אומר כמה זמן ארך שביו בסיציליה ובצפון אפריקה. לאחר פדותו מן השבי נראה שלא השתקע בשום מקום באופן קבוע אלא בילה שנים רבות בנסיעות ברחבי הממלכה הביזאנטית. אכן אין אנו יודעים היכן מת. חוסר המנוחה שלו סייע לו בלימודו הרב גוני. הוא התמסר בחשק לחוכמת הישמעאלים בשלמו למורה בבלי לעזור לו בידיעת הערבית וכמה שפות של המזרח הרחוק. שמנו לב שהוא ידע איטלקית, לאטינית ויוונית. ידיעה זו אפשרה לו להתמצא ביצירותיהם של מלומדים קלאסיים וביזאנטיים, בפרט בשדה האסטרונומיה³⁰, בעוד שספר חכמוני בעצמו הוא עדות מספקת לבקיאותו היהודית. יש להביא בחשבון עוד נסיבה אחת. ספר חכמוני נכתב בשנת ארבעת אלפים ושבע מאות ושש לבריאת העולם, היינו בשנת 6—945 לספה"ג³¹. הרדיפות הקצרות אך אכזריות שגרדפו היהודים בידי הקיסר רומאנוס הראשון, לא יותר משנה לפני כן, החריבו כליל את חיי הקהילות הדרום איטלקיות³². יצירת ספר חכמוני בתנאים כאלה הייתה הישג יוצא מן הרגיל. כושר מסוג זה בצירוף בקיאותו רבת הפנים הם שמשתקפים במקוריות הסברתו של דונולו את הדימוי המיקרוקוסמי.

28 ראה מונטנר, דונולו, כרך ב' עמ' 107—108.

29 הקבל חלקי אתה מוצא בסדרה ארוכה של דימויים בין חלקי גוף האדם ובין גרמי השמיים, הדנים לא לגמרי בהשפעות, באנציקלופדיה אסטרונומית שחוכרה בבצרה בסמוך לשנת 951; ראה Conger, pp. 46-50. באמצע המאה השלוש עשרה, ר' שם טוב בן יוסף אבן פאלקירה מטולדו העתיק והרחיב במידה ניכרת את שיטתו של דונולו בדימויים אסטרונומיים-אנאטומיים; ראה ספר המבקש, וארשה (תרפ"ד), עמ' 141.

30 קאשטילי, עמ' 3—5; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 123.

31 קאשטילי, עמ' 6; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 124.

32 ראה A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, London (1971), pp. 99-101.

להסבירה לגבי המיקרוקוסמוס, גוף האדם, שוב מוליכה אותו לידי סתירה. שכן פוטנציאל הרע שלו, כפי שדונולו ממקם את התלי, חייב להתאים לצד מזרח או מערב של העולם, ולא לצד צפון. כי יש לו לתלי פוטנציאל רע בכלל, דבר זה מוצא מסתמא את חיזוקו במקורות המקשרים אותו תכופות עם נחש הברית או נחש העקלתון שישמידו האלהים ביום הדין²⁴. אבל שוב, פירכות אלו באמת אינן מעניינות את דונולו. במקום אחר, בחלקו העיקרי של ספר חכמוני, הוא משנה במידת מה את הדימוי כדי לקבוע את הנקודה המהותית שלו: האלהים מושל בעולם ע"י התלי. שנים עשר המזלות של הגלגל "אדוקין בו, והוא המוליך המביא את המאורות והכוכבים... בטוב או ברע". אלוהים מושל באדם באמצעות לב האדם אשר בו שיכן את הנשמה. כמו שהתלי הוא הכוח המניע הבלתי אמצעי של העולם, כך הלב הוא הכוח המניע הבלתי אמצעי של אדם, תוך שהוא מביא אותו לפעול בדרכים שונות "בין בטוב ובין ברע"²⁵. הנקודה של דונולו עודנה הדימוי המיקרו-קוסמי ולא השפעתם של גרמי השמים על האדם.

וכך הקשר בין גרמי השמים לגוף האדם. נוסח דונולו שונה בתכלית מזה של האיציטגנינים שגם הם התחילו בתיאוריה של המיקרוקוסמוס אך השתמשו בה כדי להראות שכוכבי הלכת שולטים על אברים מיוחדים באדם באמצעות המזלות של הגלגל²⁶. התייחסותיו של דונולו אל גרמי השמים הם יותר אסטרונומיים מאשר אסטרולוגיים במידה שהמדובר באדם. הם תיאורים של מה שלפי אמונתו קיים בעולם וממש בתור כזה השתמש בו לצורכי דימוי אל מה שקיים באדם. מדוע הייתה גישתו של דונולו כה שונה? במקצת משום ההסתייגויות היסודיות שהיו ליהודים מן האיציטגנינות. עם זאת לא רבים היו מסכימים למה שאמר הרמב"ם עליה— שכולה תוהו והבל— רבים שאימצו להם עמדה לא הרבה שונה מזו של דונולו. עיון באיציטגנינות יכול להזהיר על סכנה כללית ממשמשת ובאה— כביכול סכנה "מאקרוקוסמית"— אבל תפילה וחסידות עשויות להרחיק אותה מן היחיד. האימרה "אין מזל לישראל" פירושה, בעצם, היש שאין לכוכבים השפעה על היחיד היהודי. כל היחס של הכוכבים אל האדם לא היה שווה ערך לגזירת הבורא²⁷. בקצרה תורת

24 ישעיה יז, א; איוב כו, על רעיון ה"תלי" ראה A. Epstein, *Récherches sur le Séfer* ; Yecira, Versailles (1894), pp. 21-23 בורג, תרמ"ז, עמ' 27-35; ש' גפן, "תלי", ספר זכרון ליובל השבעים של א"ז רבינוביץ, ת"אביב תרפ"ד, עמ' 126-128.

25 קאשטילי, עמ' 79-80; 82-84; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 146-147.

26 ראה למשל, הדיאגראמות שהעתיק C. Singer, *From Magic to Science*, New York (1928), p. 64, 84.

27 ראה A. Marx, *The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology*, New York, (1926), pp. 7-8; p. 17 (הערה 20).

בשביל "צפון", "שמאל" ו"אות רע", וכולן גזרות משורש משותף אחד, ומילים בשביל "ימין", "אושר" וצד דרום של ערב, כולן גזרות משורש שני²¹.
 חמור יותר מחוסר הקבל משכנע לחיזוק הנחתו השנייה של דוגולו היה הקושי של התיאוריה הפאתולוגית שאליה הוליכו מסקנותיו. שכן קשה בעליל להסכים ששתיים מארבע המרירות הן רעות כל כולן ושתיים טובות. אכן, הניסיון הרפואי של גאלן היה דווקא מבוסס על ההשערה שמחלה נגרמת על ידי עודף שבכל אחת מהן, למשל כל אחת מארבע המרות יכלה להיות גורם של קדחת, מין שונה של קדחת בכל אחת ואחת מהן²². כיוצא בזה קשה להסכים לכך, שצד ימין של הגוף נוטה פרוח יותר למחלה מאשר הצד האחר. על צד האמת, דוגולו בעצמו, בפיסקה החמישית, נוטש ניגוד מיוחד זה בין שמאל לימין. אף על פי כן, כל הקשיים הללו, כל הסתירות הללו, באמת אינם ממעיטים מערך הנקודה העיקרית שביקש דוגולו להדגיש, הם רק מראים עד כמה נרחף היה לעשות כן.

נוסף על דוגמאותיו האנאטומיות והפאתולוגיות, ממחיש דוגולו את גישתו בדוג-מאות מאיצטגנינות ומן האסטרונומיה. בפיסקה השנייה לנוסח שלנו, האנאלוגיה שלו היא בין שני מיני חיזוי. לגבי המאקרוקוסמוס, נותן להשתמש בעצמים ובתופעות הנמצאים בו: כוכבי הלכת, הסימנים של גלגל המזלות, אולי עשבים ואילנות. אבל לגבי האדם אין זה אלא ע"י סימנים פיסיים שאפשר להבחין בהם על הגוף — שיטה הקרובה יותר לחיזוי עתידו במובן של תחזית רפואית. כך, מראהו החיצוני עשוי לרמוז על כוח המערכת שלו, גידור בלא סיבה נראית לעין — בלא פרעוש העשוי לרמוז על לכלוך כגורם, בלא שחין העשוי לרמוז על הפרעה במחזור הדם — יכול להצביע על התקפה של מחלה מיוחדת. ההנחה שהיחס בין גרמי שמיים לאדם איננו יחס של השפעה, אלא רק דוגמה לדימוי מיקרוקוסמי, מובהרת על ידי דוגולו בפיסקה החמישית. שנים עשר המזלות של הגלגל הם ההקבל המאקרוקוסמי לשנים עשר האברים בגוף האדם, הם אינם אמורים להפעיל שום השפעה עליהם. במקום אחר ב"נעשה אדם" שלו מעמיד דוגולו את חמשת כוכבי הלכת ואת שני המאורות בהקבל לעיניים, לבחיריים, לאוזניים ולפה, שוב בלא כל רמז על השפעה²³. באותו מובן התלי, ציר העולם מיוצג באדם על ידי חוט השדרה. הפוטנציאל הרע של התלי, שהווקק פה, כבדוגמאות אחרות, כדי לספק הקבל לנקודה שביקש דוגולו

21 דאה הערה 12 לחלק ב; אולי זוהי הסיבה לכך שהרומאים קראו לתימן "ערב המאושרת":

שמל (שורש)	الشمال (צפון)	شمال (צד שמאל ומזל רע)
ימן (שורש)	يمن (ימין)	يمن (אושר)

22 ראה F. H. Garrison, *Introduction to the History of Medicine* 4th edition, Philadelphia (1929), p. 114

23 קאשטילי, עמ' 19—20; וארשה"ירושלים, עמ' 127.

לרמותו ליצירת עפר ממים). כיוצא בזה, חומר מצק עשוי להתהוות בשלפוחית ובכליות מהתמזגות של לחות וחמימות¹⁵. עמידה זו על דימוי המיקרוקוסמוס, שהיה לה שורש איתן בעובדות הפיסיקאליות, נשתלטה עד כרי להוליך את דונולו לתוך קשיים חמורים. אם הדימוי של שני העולמות במצבם הנורמאלי ניתן להמחישו בדוגמאות מהאנאטומיה האנושית ומתפקודים גופניים, הרי הפועל היוצא מזה הוא, שהפרעות במאקרוקוסמוס, תופעור-תיו הבלתי נעימות, יש להן מקביליהן המיקרוקוסמיים שניתן להמחישן בדוגמאות מהפאטולוגיה. זו הייתה מטרתו של דונולו בפיסקה השלישית. הנחתו הראשונה — שהתופעות הבלתי נעימות במאקרוקוסמוס באות מן הצפון, שהצפון הוא מדור הרע, ואילו הדרום הוא מקור הטוב, לא הייתה הנחה בלתי רגילה. היא נובעת ממסורת ארוכה, החל מן הנביא ירמיהו: "מצפון תיפתח הרעה על כל יושבי הארץ"¹⁶. דברי דונולו על הצפון יש להם הקבל קרוב בפרקי דר' אליעזר: "ושם הוא מדור למזיקין ולוועות, לרוחות ולשדים, לברקים ולרעמים, ומשם רעה יוצאת לעולם"¹⁷. ברם, כדי להשלים את הדימוי עם המיקרוקוסמוס היה לו צורך בהנחתו השנייה — שהצפון הרע הוא צד שמאל לעולם, הדרום הטוב הוא צד ימין של עולם. הקבל להנחה זו פחות קל למצוא במקורות היהודיים. מסתבר שדונולו לא תרחיק במבטו הלאה מספר יצירה עצמו. אבל שם, הגם שצפון הוא בבירור מקביל לשמאל ודרום מקביל לימין, אין שם כל רמז שצד אחד רע והצד האחר טוב¹⁸. במידה שהמדובר הוא במקורות לא יהודיים, לא הייתה קיימת אצל הקדמונים הקלאסיים דעה אחת על האותות לטובה או על הכיוון המקביל של כל אחת מארבע רוחות השמים במצפן. למשל, בעוד שצד ימין של הגוף נחשב לרוב כעדיף על צד שמאל, רעם מצד שמאל נחשב גם הוא לרוב כמזל טוב¹⁹. אבות הכנסייה גטו ללכת אחרי הפרשנים היהודיים לירמיהו, והישוו את הצפון אל הרע, אבל גם הם לא נתנו לכך הקבל כיווני מיוחד²⁰. כמעט שאתה בא לידי השערה שהנחתו השנייה של דונולו קיבלה השראתה מן המורות האטימולוגית שבערבית יש מלים

15 קאשטילי, עמ' 29; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 130.

16 ירמיהו א. יד.

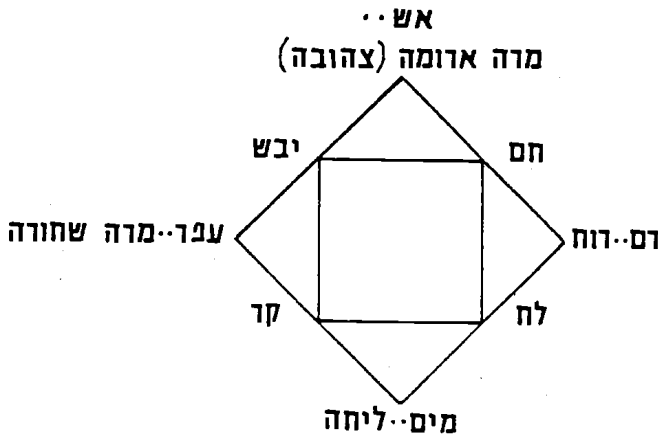
17 פרקי דר' אליעזר, פרק שלישי, (Friedlander, p. 17) = השווה חנוך ב, י, (=Morfill, pp. 9-10).

18 ספר יצירה פ"א, מ"ג (וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 69); השווה תהילים פ"ט, יב, ג והפ" לוגתא על מקבילים אלה בת"ב, בבא בתרא כה, א' וב'.

19 לסקר על העמדות הקלאסיות ראה C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophanus*, vol. 2. Berlin (1829), pp. 915-918.

20 ראה, למשל, Origen, *De principiis* II.8.3 = Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 11 col. 222c.

בעל-שכל יוכל להבינם. שכן כל הגישה כולה של דונולו הייתה מעשית מאוד. בקטע שלפנינו הוא מזכיר בהקשר זה או זה, את ארבעת הנוזלים, או ארבע "מרירות", האמורות לפקח על תיפקודי הגוף: הדם, המרה האדומה (שכיח יותר, צהובה) והמרה הכחורה (בפיסקה השלישית), הלחלוח (בפיסקה הרביעית). בהמשך ביאורו ל"נעשה אדם" הוא מציין פורמאלית את הייחס בין נוזלים אלה ובין ארבעת היסודות שמהם מורכבים שניהם המאקרוקוסמוס והמיקרוקוסמוס, אש, רוח, עפר, מים — בהסבירו איך תכונותיו של כל אחד מיסודות אלה מקבילות לתכונותיה של כל אחת מארבע המרירות¹³, לפי ההסברה הסטנדרטית שניתנה במה שקרוי כתבי האיסוף ההיפוקראטי והועברה על ידי גאלן. הדבר נראה בדיאגרמה הבאה¹⁴:



אולם דונולו ממשך וקובע מעין הוכחה ניסויית ליחסים אלה שבין היסודות. הוא נותן דוגמאות לפעולת הגומלין שלהם כתופעות ניכרות לעין. נשימת האדם (רוח) כשהיא באה במגע עם חומר מוצק (עפר) יכולה ליצור לחות (מים). אם אביק כדורי ימולא מים ויושם בין השמש ובין נעורת של פשתן יידלק החומר הדליק כאשר המים מרכזים את קרני השמש (הווי אומר, אש ממים). תוכו של קומקום נחושת יתכסה בחומר קשה אחרי תקופת שימוש (הווי אומר, עפר ממים על ידי השימוש באש). בגיגיות יין יתהווה מעצמו משקע מוצק (הווי אומר, תהליך שניתן

13 קאשטילי, עמ' 26; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 129.

14 ראה C. Singer & E.A. Underwood, *A Short History of Medicine*, 2nd edition, Oxford (1962), pp. 46-49.

את האדם, במובן זה או אחר, כעולם במיניאטורה, לא התעניין באנאלוגיה על ידי דוגמאות אנאטומיות. כנראה לא היה לו לומר אלא זאת:
 "חכמי קדם, מומחים במדע הטבע, קובעים שהיצור החי הוא מין עולם קטן"
 (οἶόν μιν αἰκρόν τινα κόσμον).⁶

נדירות הדוגמאות האנאטומיות גבעה מתוך הזנחה כללית של הצד הפיסי להשוואה המאקרוקוסמית-מיקרוקוסמית. התיאוריה של המיקרוקוסמוס בתקופה הקלאסית ובתקופת הנצרות הקדומה, אפילו כאשר התעניינה בצד הפיסי, הובעה בדרך כלל במונחים מופשטים. החריג היחיד היה המקרה המיוחד של איצטגנינות (אסטרולוגיה בלע"ז) אשר קיבלה את הנחתה העיקרית שמעשי האדם קשורים בתנועות הכוכבים, מן התיאוריה על המיקרוקוסמוס, אלא שהשתמשה בה לעניינה שלה. כאשר קשרה, עתים בפרטות גיכרת, חלקים של גוף האדם עם כוכבי הלכת ועם גלגל המזלות, היא היתה מעוניינת לא בהשוואה אלא בחיזוי. אולם שימוש זה בדוגמאות אנאטומיות הוא רלבאנטי לקטע שלפנינו ואנו נחזור אליו. מלבד חריג זה, מרבית הרציונאלי של האדם⁷, כזו של פלוטינוס⁸ — בין גפש העולם ובין גפש היחיד⁹, כזו של קלמנט איש אלכסנדריה — בין ההרמוניה שהביא ישו לעולם בכלל ולאנושות בפרט¹⁰ או כזו של סבריאנוס איש אנטיוכיה — בין האלוהים ובין מוח האדם¹¹. וראוי להשוות את ניסוחו המופשט של סנקה, "המקום שתופס האלוהים בעולם תופסת הגפש באדם, כל אשר חומר בו הוא הגוף"¹¹, אל הלשון המוחשית בה הובע אותו הרעיון על ידי המדרש, שלא לדבר על דונולו עצמו, לגבי "נעשה אדם". סופרים יהודים שכתבו על המיקרוקוסמוס הקדישו למעשה יתר תשומת לב לטרמיי-נולוגיה פיסיקאלית במיוחד, עם שאין לשכוח כי הנודע ביותר שבהם, יוסף אבן צדיק, שנתן מהלכים למונח הממשי "עולם קטן", חי מאה שנים אחרי דונולו¹². יכול שדונולו ביקש לאזן את המשקל, להשתית את האנאלוגיה המיקרוקוסמית על בסיס פיסיקאלי איתן, להביע אותה במונחים שלא רופא בלבד אלא למעשה כל

6 מובא ע"י Conger, p. 20.
 7 *De natura deorum* II.14.37, ed. F.W. Mueller, Leipzig (1878), p. 59.
 8 *Enneades* II.3.7, ed. R. Volkman, Leipzig (1883). pp. 139-140.
 9 *Clementis Alexandrini cohortatio ad gentes* I = Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 8, col. 60A.
 10 *Severiani oratio* II.4. = Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 56, col. 443.
 11 *Epistolae ad Lucium* III. 65, ed. O. Hense, Leipzig (1898), p. 196.
 12 על אסירות תודתו של אבן צדיק לדונולו ראה, מונטנר, דונולו, כרך ב', עמ' 23; לעניין רעיונות יהודיים על המיקרוקוסמוס, ראה גם ילינק XII introduction, p. X; *Jewish Encyclopaedia* VIII 544-545.

וזרעיהן, בהכרח משתמע ממנו שמים אלה נחשבים גם הם כעיקרון זכרי. ואילו המקורות חולקים על כך. לפי המדרש המים שלמעלה הם ה"זכריים" — מי התהום הם "נקביים", והשקפה זו נשנית במקומות אחרים¹. המקור האחד הידוע לנו והעשוי לחזק את דעת דונולו הוא ברייתא אלמונית לבראשית א, ב, שבה מי התהום כאילו מייצגים את היסוד היוצר או הפעיל². בקצרה, תהיה ככול שתהיה הדרך בה הגיע דונולו לדימוי זה, עניינו כאן, כמו בדוגמאות אחרות, הוא פחות במאקרוקוסמוס ויותר במיקרוסמוס. ברור שהוא מתעניין בתיאור האנטומי שלו לשמו. אחד הנימוקים להתענינות זו ברור: הוא היה רופא. אכן, התיאור שלו נקרא מאוד כקטע מתוך ספר לימוד רפואי, ואתה נדחף לשער שדונולו באמת דאג כאן הזדמנות טובה להורות קצת אנאטומיה וגם תיאולוגיה. אבל הדגשתו הטבעית של רופא בפרטים אנאטומיים אפשר לא היה הנימוק היחיד.

דימוי באמצעות דוגמאות אנאטומיות היה רחוק מלהיות דבר חדש בימיו של דונולו. עם שמושג המאקרוקוסמוס והמיקרוקוסמוס דומה שלא הובע מפורשות לפני אריסטו³, הנה שיטה זו כבר הוזכרה כמהותית לצורך דימוי בין שני העולמות בבחינתם הפיסית בטקסט רפואי יווני במאה החמישית לפני סה"נ. בעצם היא הובהרה בשתי דוגמאות שדונולו עצמו עתיד היה להשתמש בהן:

"בעלי-החיים וצמחים יש להם מבנה הדומה לזה של העולם. לפיכך, מאחר שהמכלול מתאים הרי שחלקיו מוכרחים גם הם להראות אותו הרכב: הארץ בהיתה ניחת, דומה לעצמות שבחלקיה האבניים והמוצקים. כל מה שמקיף אותם דומה לבשר הנמס של האדם. המים בנהרות דומים לדם הזורם בוורידיו"⁴.

אולם דוגמאות מאוחרות יותר של שיטה זו היו נדירות מאוד⁵. המפתיע מכול הוא, שגאלן, שהאפיל על מדע הרפואה למשך שלוש עשרה מאות שנים, שהעביר את המסורת היוונית של מדע זה לרומא ולביזאנטיה ואשר עם מרבית בני דורו, חשב

1 מדדש בד"ד יג, יד; הנוך א, נט, ח (=Charles, p. 147) *The Hebrew Book of Enoch*; XLII 2, ed. & trans. H. Odeberg, Cambridge (1928), text ("3 Enoch") p. 55 trans., p. 130; פדקי דד' אליעזר ה, ט, כ"ג, עם מראי מקומות בספרות חז"ל. (=Friedlander, p. 30, 63, 167).

2 דאה A. Altman, "Gnostic Themes in Rabbinic Theology", *Essays Presented to Dr. Herz*, English section, p. 23.

3 מובא ע"י 11 Conger, p. 11.

4 מובא ע"י 5-294 T. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, vol. I, London (1901) pp. 294-5.

5 דוגמא אחת המזכירה את דונולו היא, אמברוזיו, הבישוף ממילאנו, המשווה את שעדות הראש לעלי האילנות, דאה *Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi hexameron VI. 9 (55-56) = Migne Patrologia Latina vol. 114, cols. 265B-266A*. לכמה דוגמאות אחרות, דאה מונטנד, דונולו כך ב' עמ' 24-25 (הערה 1).

באדם י"ב נתחים ב' ידיים וב' אמות וב' זרועות וב' רגלים וב' שוקים וב' יריכים. וכמו שקבע האל שש מזלות בדרום ושש בצפון, כן קבע האל להיות נתחים אלה באדם ששה בצד ימינו וששה בצד שמאלו של גוף.

וכמו שמתנהג העולם וכל אשר בו תחת ומעלה בכח רוחו של הקב"ה כן מתנהג כל גופו של אדם תחת ומעלה מבית ומחוץ בכח נשמת רוח החיים שנפח בו האל ית'. וכמו שסובל האלהים את העולם תחת ומעלה עם כל אשר בו ונראה ברעתי הסכלים וההדיוטים כי הוא נסבל, כן סובל רוח החיים את כל הגוף תחת ומעלה מבית ומחוץ מקצה אל קצה ונראה ברעת ההדיוטים כי הגוף סובל את הרוח ואינו כן כי בעת סוף יגיע וקץ חייו, תצא רוח האדם מן הגוף ותשוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה, והגוף הוא הגולם נשאר מת כאבן ולא יועיל מאומה. וכמו שהאל חי לעולמי עולמים, כן רוחו של אדם חי לעולם בין בטוב בין ברע.

ג. ביאורים

העניין שבקטע זה הוא, הדימויים בהם בחר דונולו להדגים את ההיקש שלו בין האדם לעולם. לכתחילה הם נחלקים לשתי קבוצות: דימויים בדרך דוגמאות אנאטו-מיות ודימויים בדרך תיאוריה של פאתולוגיה. הקבוצה הראשונה מצטיינת בכך שכמה מהדוגמאות האנאטומיות מפורטות עד למידה הנראית לכאורה מיותרת. הדימוי בין הלב עם הכוח המניע שלו התלוי בנשמת החיים שנתן לו האלוהים ובין תלותה של היצירה באלוהים, אינו נעשה יותר ברור על ידי הסברת המקום המדויק של הלב בגוף. הדימוי של התהומות מתחת הארץ עם הרפש והטיט שלהם אל הקרב העליון והמיעים אינו צריך לתיאור מדויק של מיני תולעים טפיליות המצויות בהם לפי סברתו של דונולו. ומשונה הוא, אם לא בלתי-נעים בהחלט, לראות פסוק מתהלים מושווה אל כל שלב בתהליך העיכול. ראוי לציין שדונולו עומד לא בלבד על פרטים אלא גם מקפיד להזכיר, בהקשר זה או אחר, את מרבית האברים בגוף האדם, שאינו דרוש לצורכי הדימוי עצמו. הוא כל כך מרוכז בזה עד לבלי לחוש כנראה בתוצאה בלתי צפויה. כפי שרמזנו בהערותינו לנוסח, הצד המאקרוקוסמי של הדימוי שלו ניתן בהרבה מקרים לחזקו בהקבלים ממקורות יהודיים אחרים, ולא מעורפלים במיוחד, שדונולו ודאי התמצא בהם, או במובאות מהם. ישנו חריג אחד, בפיסקה הראשונה. הדימוי של אבני התהום עם המים שלהן, אל הכליות

שמאל שממנה תולדות כל חלי רע וקשה, כמו השפחת הרביעית¹⁵ וכל מיני שגפון והפחד והרעד כל אברים והפלאג הוא פרליסיאה¹⁶ ועוית הפת ועמום העינים והסגורים.

וכמו שעולים בעצן הנשיאים מן הארץ ומעלים המים מן התהומות אל אויר הרקיע להמטיר על הארץ, כן עולה עשן הקרב העליון ומעלה לחלוח אל הפה ואל הראש. ומן אותו הלחלוח העולה מן הקרב יזלו הדמעות וריר הנחיריים ורוק הפה¹⁷. וכמו שברא האל בעולם הרים כן ברא בגוף האדם שכמי הכתפים וקשרי הזרועים והאר-כובות של ברכים וקשרי הקרסולים ושאר הקשרים של כל אברים. וכמו שברא בעולם אבנים וצורים חזקים וקשים כן ברא באדם השנים והמתלעות שהם קשים יותר מכל עצם וברזל. וכמו שברא בעולם אילנות חזקים ורכים כן ברא באדם עצמות קשים ורכים. וכמו שברא בעולם ארץ עבה וקשה וארץ לחה ורכה, כן ברא באדם בשר ועור, הבשר נגד הארץ הרכה והעור נגד הארץ הקשה והעבה. וכמו שברא בעולם אילנות ועשבים העושים פרי זרע ואילנות ועשבים שאינם עושים פרי זרע, כן עשה בני אדם מולידים ויש שאינם מולידים. וכמו שהאילנות והעשבים אינם עושים פרי בלא עתם כך בני אדם אינם מולידים בלא עתם. וכמו שהאילנות נזקנים כך נזקנים בני אדם. וכמו שמצמיח האל עשב ועצי יער מן הארץ כן מצמיח באדם שער הראש והזקן והגוף. וכמו אשר ישרצו חיות ורמש ביער הארץ, כן שורצים בשער הראש והזקן ובבשר הגוף כנים גדולים וקטנים וביצי כנים.

וכמו שברא האלהים התלי בעולם ונטהו ברקיע במזרח ועד מערב מקצה אל קצה, והכוכבים והמזלות וכל דבר שבעולם אדוקין בו, כן ברא בגוף האדם את חבל המוח הלבן אשר בתוך חוליות השדרה והוא נטוי מקצה מוח הראש ועד עצם העצה, וי"ב הנתחים והצלעות וכל אברי הגוף אדוקין בו מפה ומפה. ראש החבל של שדרה הוא מוח הראש וזנב החבל של שדרה הוא עצם העצה וגיד הערוה, וכמו שראש התלי עושה טובה והזנב עושה רעה, כן עושה ראש חבל המוח טובה וזנב המוח עושה רעה, וכמו שברא האל ית' שנים עשר מזלות ומנהיג את העולם בהם כן ברא

15 מסתמא ה־ quartan ague (היינו הקדחת הרביעית), שחפת יכול, כמובן, פירושה להיות כל מחלה מכלה, לאו דווקא pthisis; ראה למשל דברים כח, לב. גאלן קשר את הקדחת הרביעית במרה השחורה, ראה להלן, חלק ג. הערה 21, והשווה ההערות הקליניות של אל־ראזי על حمى الروح ב־ E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge (1921), p. 51.

16 ספק אם זהו ביאור הערבית (הצעתו של קאשטילי, המדור העברי, עמ' 22, הערה 8) פלאג נראית קרובה יותר ל־ plaga הלאטינית (מ־ πλάγιά הדורית היוונית במקום ἡ γένεσις האטית) מאשר ל־ فالج הערבית. קרוב יותר לוודאי שבפלאג — פרליסיאה מתעתק דונולו את המונחים היווניים־לאטיניים כחלופין לגבי המחלה שאת סימניה הוא מזכיר.

17 ראה בראשית ב, ו; לגבי ההקבלה ה"מיקרוקוסמית", ראה קאשטילי, המדור האיטלקי, עמ' 45, הערה, 7.

שעשה האל נהרות להשקות את העולם, כן עשה בגוף האדם ורידין הם גדיי הדם המושכין את הדם להשקות את כל הגוף.⁸

וכמו⁹ שיש בעולם מים צלולים ועכורים מתוקים ומלוחים ומרים כך באדם, מעיניו יוצאים מים מלוחים מנחיריו יוצאים מים קרים ומגרונו מים חמים ומפיו מים מתוקים ומאוזניו מים מרים¹⁰ ומן השתן הם מים מרים וסרוחים, בעולם יש רוחות קרים וחמים כן באדם כשפותח פיו ונופח אז הרוח חום וכשסוגר פיו ונופח אז הרוח קור, רעמים בעולם קול באדם, ברקים בעולם באדם פניו מאירים כברק, מזלות בעולם החוזים בכוכבים ידעים מהם עתידות, כן יש אותות באדם: כשיש חיכוך לאדם בלא שחין ובלא כינה ובלא פרעוש בזה ידעים הבקיאים בחכמה הזאת העתידות, וכן בשירטוטי האדם ובתואר פניו ידעים עתידות. והחכמה הזאת היתה ביד חכמים הקדמונים אבל מן האחרונים נשתכחה. וכן יכולין החכמים לידע עתידות מן האילנות והעשבים, וזהו מה שאמרו על רבן יוחנן בן זכאי שהיה יודע שיחת דקלים פ"י היה בקי לראות בתנועת הדקלים ומזה היה יודע עתידות.¹¹

וכמו שיוצאים בעולם מצד דרום הנגב והוא תימן והוא צד ימין של עולם¹² החום וטללי וגשמי ברכת, כן יוצאין בדבר האל בצד ימינו של אדם החום מן המרירה האדומה התלויה בכבד, וכן יוצא לחלוח הדם מן הכבד שבצד ימינו של אדם. וכמו שהשלג יוצא והקור והברד מצד צפון שהוא צד שמאל לעולם¹³, כן יוצא הקור מצד שמאלו של אדם מן הטחול ומן המרה השחורה השכונה בטחול בתוכו. וכמו שיוצאה הרעה לעולם מצפון, כן יוצא כל חלי רע וקשה מן המרה השחורה השוכנת בטחול בצד שמאל. וכמו בצד צפון של עולם מדור כל המזיקים והזיקים והזועות והרוחות והברקים והרעמים¹⁴, כן הוא מדור המרה השחורה השוכנת בטחול לצד

8 "אתה נדחף לראות בפסקה זו כמבשרה של הארווי" (קאשטילי, המדור האיטלקי, עמ' 46) — אבל הרעיון על ורידים "המושכין" את הדם דרך הגוף, בקושי משמעת ממנו הבנת מחזור הדם; ראה, G. S. Prendergast, "Galen on the Vascular System", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 21 (1927-28), Section of the History of Medicine, pp. 1839-1847.

9 הקטע הנתון בין הסימנים X לקוח מילינק (מונטנר, דונולו כרך א' עמ' 32) הוא הושמט ע"י קאשטילי; ראה המדור העברי שלו, עמ' 22, הערה 2.

10 אל נכון רמיזה לארבעת נחלי היסוד או "המרות"; ראה להלן עמ' 508.

11 הגת עתידו של אדם לפי מראה פניו לא נשתכחה לגמרי. היא הייתה ידועה לר' שריא גאון ובביואנטיה; ראה ג' שלום, הכרת פנים וסדרי שרטוטין, ספר אסף, ירושלים תשי"ג, עמ' 459—461. והשווה R. Foerster, *Scriptores physio-gnomici*, vol. 1 (*Prolegomena*), Leipzig (1893).

12 השווה בערבית - بلاد اليمن - ימין תימן נחשבה כארץ השוכנת לימין חגי'אן; ראה P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London (1968) p. 44.

13 השווה בערבית شمال - الشمال.

14 אשר לצדדים הטובים והרעים של העולם, ראה למטה עמ' 509.

וכמו שברא האל האדם והבהמה וכל גפש החיה לשכון על הארץ, כן ברא האל הלב על אותו הקרום של בשר שעל הכבד², ושכן בתוך הלב את רוח החיים. וכמו שעשה מתחת הארץ תהומות ורפש וטיט כן עשה באדם הקרב העליון והמעיים המקבליה הנאכל והמשתה. וכמו ששורצים המים מן הרפש ומן הטיט שרצים ורמשים, כן נשרצים במעי האדם מרפש השמרים של מאכל ושל משתה שרצים ורמשים ותולעים ארוכים וקצרים רהבים וגלולים גדולים וקטנים עבים ודקים כשערות לבנים. וכמו שעשה מקוה ימים בעולם³ כן עשה מקוה מי הרגלים הוא הנבל והוא השלפוחית. וכמו שעשה אבני הארץ למטה ממנה⁴ כן עשה יסוד בנין כל הגוף את עצמות העצה מזה ומזה ושתי היריכים. וכמו שעשה אבנים מפולמות המשוקעות בתהום אשר מביניהם המים יוצאים בו, כן עשה שתי הכליות לצאת מביניהם את הזרע אל ביצי המבושים ואל הערוה. וכמו שהתהום קורא אל תהום ככתוב (תהלים מב ח) תהום אל תהום קורא לקול צנוריק⁵ כן קורא הקרב העליון אסטומכוס⁶ אל המעים להקבילם שמר המאכל והמשתה, ובטן התחתון הוא המעי הנקרא עור הסתום קורא אל גידי הכליות שהם כצינורים להקביל המים מי רגלים הם המתמצים ונפרדים מן המאכל מתוך המעי ההוא ללכת אל השלפוחית, וצינורי הכליות קורין אל גידי השלפוחית להקבילם המים ההם להוליכם ולהקוותם בתוך השלפוחית שהיא דומה לתהום התחתון שהוא תחתון לכל התהומות⁷, ועוד קורא אותו המעי הנקרא עור הסתום אל מעי הנקרא שרשור הוא הטחור להקביל את דומן הצואה והגלל. וכמו

- 1 קאשטילי, עמ' 20—24; וארשהירושלים, עמ' 128—129; החלוקה לפסקאות היא שלנו.
- 2 "הקרום" אפשר שהוא השריר המפריד את החזה מן הבטן, ראה מונטנר, שבתאי דונולו כרך א' עמ' 31.
- 3 ראה בראשית א, ט.
- 4 השווה "אבן פינתה" של הארץ באיוב לח, ו ורעיונות דומים בספר חנוך ("חנוך האתיופי" או "חנוך 1") יח, ב תרגם R.H. Charles, Oxford, (1893), p. 88; בספר הסודות של חנוך ("חנוך הסלאבי" או "חנוך 2"), כח, ב, תרגם, W.R. Morfill & R.H. Charles, Oxford (1896), p. 34. בפרקי ר' אליעזר י', לה', תרגם G. Friedlander, London (1916), p. 71, p. 266, הנותן מראי מקור מות לספרות חז"ל; ב"עלייתו של משה" א, יו, בתרגום R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha & Pseudepigraphia of the Old Testament*, Oxford (1913), p. 415.
- 5 השווה תהילים קלה, ז; חנוך, א, ג, כא (=Charles, p. 158) פרקי ר' אליעזר ה, עם מראי מקומות בחז"ל (=Friedlander, pp. 29-30).
- 6 היינו στόμαχος ספר מרקחות יש לו דוגמאות דומות מרובות של תעתיקים מיוונית, רומית ואיטלקית; ראה מונטנר, דונולו כרך ב' עמ' 9—28, הערה 16 להלן.
- 7 ראה בראשית ז, יא; ח, ב; השווה חנוך ב לח, ג (=Morfill & Charles p. 34).

כוחות האלוהים, אך בקנה מידה קטן יותר. וזוהי, אומר דונולו, משמעות הפסוק בתהילים ת, ו: ותחסרהו מעט מאלוהים¹⁹. חשוב לציין שכאשר דונולו מתייחס בהמשך דבריו לאותו פסוק באסמכתא מן התנ"ך להבחנה יותר ברורה בין האלוהים והאדם — יצרו הרע של האדם ומותו של האדם — מתברר בעליל מתוך ההקשר, שלו שהוא מבין את הפסוק הנ"ל כ"חיסרו מעט מאלוהים" ולא כ"חיסרו מעט מהמלאכים" כפי שנהגו במקרים רבים לתרגמו²⁰.

אם בחינה אחת של האדם דומה אפוא, בזעיר אנפין כביכול, לבחינה של האלוהים, מה בדבר בחינתו השנייה? באיזה מובן גברא האדם "בצלמו וכרמותו" של העולם שמסביבו? אף כאן זוהי שאלה של קנה מידה.

דונולו מסביר באריכות כיצד האדם הוא דוגמא מיניאטורית של העולם. הסברתו היא בדוגמת הרעיון בדבר האדם כמיקרוקוסמוס, 'העולם הקטן', המשקף בזעיר אנפין יסודות שונים של המאקרוקוסמוס, "העולם הגדול". רעיון זה, כמובן איננו מקורי אצל דונולו. הוא הופיע והזר והופיע לפחות מאז התקופה הקדומה הקלאסית ואילך, והובע בכל מיני דרכים שונות. בתקופת הנצרות, לפני דונולו ולאחריו, אתה מוצא אותו פעמים רבות בהגות היהודית ובהגות הנוצרית גם יחד. אבל הדרך בה הביע אותו דונולו לחיזוק ביאורו של "נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו" יש לו מקוריות משלו. הוא מתלבט במיוחד בקטע המובא להלן.

19 קאשטילי, שם, עמ' 19; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 127. תרגום השבעים גורס "paulo minus ab angelis"; "βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους"; הוולגאטה (מהדורת Authorised Version, "a little lower than the angels"; Revised Version, 1948, עמ' 531) והתרגום האנגלי (הרומי-הקאטולי) של הוולגאטה (מהדורת 1955, עמ' 481) נותנים את שתי המשמעויות כאלטרנאטיבות. ה־ Revised Standard Version (מהדורת 1957, עמ' 567) גותן "a little less than God"; ואילו The New English Bible (1970, עמ' 733) — "little less than a good". ההבנה היהודית של "אלוהים" בהקשר זה ושל המקביל "בני אלוהים" היא רבגונית; ראה מ"ד קאסוטו, "מעשה בני האלוהים ובנות האדם". *Essays Presented to the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, London* המדור העברי, עמ' 35—36.

20 קיימת ספרות עשירה; למבוא טוב, ראה G.P. Conger, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy*, New York (1922), בייחוד עמ' 23—24, 46—47.

ניטלת ממנו. ואילו האלוהים, אומר דונולו, בכדי להראות את האפסיות שבאנתרו-פומורפיות, אינו אוכל, אינו שותה ואינו נח. וכך אינו צריך לאברים גופניים בשביל שיתקיים. כאשר מדובר מן הסתם על אבריו הגופניים של האלוהים — על פניו, על עיניו, על לבו, וכו' — אין זה אלא פשוט במונחי הדיבור האנושי ("כל זה לפי מנהג הדיבור של בני אדם") כדי שיהיו מעשיו נתפסים ככל האפשר על ידי הבריות. באינסופיותו, בגדולתו ובכוחו אי אפשר לדמות את האלוהים לכל דבר ¹⁴.

ובכן אפוא, הייתכן לדבר על אדם בצלם אלוהים? טיעונו של דונולו מתבסס על שני פירושים למילים הממשיות של הכתוב. ראשית, לא במקרה נקוטה לשון רבים. הדבר בא להראות, אומר דונולו, שהאלוהים אמר לעולמו שכבר יצר אותו: "נעשה — אני ואתה — אדם בצלמי ובצלמך, כדמותי וכדמותך" ¹⁵. האדם ייווצר בחלקו, כביכול, על ידי העולם בעצמו. הוא אמור להיות בו בזמן בלתי נפרד ממקורו החומרי, מעפר האדמה, וממעשה האלוהים שייפח חיים באותה אדמה. כאן פיתח דונולו פירוש מדרשי שמן הסתם היה ידוע לו ¹⁶, ואילו הפירוש השני הוא, עד היכן שידוע לנו, פירוכו שלו, הגם שמשהו בדומה לזה נאמר על ידי הרמב"ם מאתיים שנה לאחר מכן: המשמעות האמיתית של "צלם ודמות" הובנה שלא כהלכה. אין פירושה משהו מעין רפליקה. האדם לא נוצר "להיראות" כמו אלוהים, לא יותר מאשר "להיראות" ככל עצם זולתו ביקום. שכן האלוהים לא אמר "בתארנו ובהכרת פנינו". "צלם ודמות" אין משמעותם אלא אפשרות הדימוי מבחינות מסוימות. כך האדם בטיבו או במעשיו ידמה לבחינות מסוימות של האלוהים ושל החומר גם יחד — עתים ידמה לאלוהים, עתים לעולם שמסביבו, "דמות מעשה אלהים ומעשה האדם" ¹⁷. והנה, שתי בחינות אלו באדם יש להן מאפיין אחד יסודי ומשותף. שתיהן פחותות בהיקפן מן המקור ממנו הן גובעות. למשל, האלוהים מושל בעולם ובכל אשר בו. בבחינה זו ידמה לו האדם, שהרי גם הוא מושל: ניתן לו השלטון על היצורים. אבל שלטון האדם מוגבל — לתחומו שלו ובכל עת שיעשה רצון בוראו. שוב, כשם שהאלוהים יודע עבר ועתיד ("אחור וקדם") "כן האדם, שנתן לו האלוהים חכמה לידע". כשם שהאלוהים נותן לחם לכל בשר, כן האדם מכלכל את בני ביתו ¹⁸. בקצרה, בכל הנוגע לבחינה האלוהית כוחותיו של האדם דומים לשל האלוהים, אך אינם ממש אותם של האלוהים. "צלם", לא "תואר", "דמות", לא "הכרת פנים", הן המלים המשמשות — יען כי כוחות האדם משקפים את

14 קאשטילי, במדור העברי, עמ' 14—15; מהדורת וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 126.

15 קאשטילי, שם, עמ' 15; מהדורת וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 126.

16 קאשטילי, שם, עמ' 16; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 126; ב"ר ח' ג'.

17 קאשטילי, שם, עמ' 16; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 127; ראה מו"נ א' א'.

18 קאשטילי, שם, עמ' 14; וארשה-ירושלים, עמ' 126.

ביזאנטית, אנוס היה לצמצם את עצמו בתקציר⁸. מונטגר הדפיס מחדש את נוסח ילינק אך ללא פירושו⁹, ועם שהתייחסויותיו הבלתי רפואיות לדונולו ערכן רב מאוד, אין הן מרובות — בייחוד ביחס להיקף יצירתו. ייתכן שהספר המאוחר ביותר על דונולו, שלרוע המזל לא ניתן עד כה להשגה, היה אולי מאזן את המשקל. אבל אם לשפוט על פי פרסומיו האחרים של מחברו, רובם ככולם בתחום הרפואה ונושאים דומים, הסיכוי מועט¹⁰. והנה חשיבות אחת של חכמוני היא בכך, שהוא מדגים את כל שלושת הפנים בידענותו של דונולו. בחרנו קטע מן החלק הראשון המבטא היטב את רעיונותיו של דונולו כרופא, כאיצטגונן — תוכן וכתיאולוג — פילוסוף. בחלק ראשון זה, לפני שהוא ניגש לפירושו לספר יצירה עצמו, דן דונולו במפורט בבריאתו ובטיבו של האדם, לאור בראשית א, כו: "ויאמר אלוהים, נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו"¹¹. כאן הייתה כוונתו להפריך שני פירושים מסולפים לגבי האדם בדמות האלוהים: יחוס תכונות גופניות לאלוהים, או יחוס תכונות אלוהיות לאנוש עד כדי לעשות את האדם לאלוהות שנייה. הפירוש המסולף האחרון היה כבר רווח למדי בימי חז"ל עד כדי לציין אותו במדרש: בשעה שברא הקדוש ברוך הוא את אדם הראשון טעו בו מלאכי השרת וביקשו לומר לפניו 'קדוש'. מה עשה הקדוש ברוך הוא הפיל עליו תרדמה וידעו הכול שהוא אדם¹². הפירוש המסולף הראשון יכול שהיה מסוכן בזמנו של דונולו כשהספר האנתרופומורפי המובהק שיעור קומה מצא לו כנראה מהלכים רחבים באירופה, בעוד שהרמב"ם בזמנו אפילו כינה אותו חיבור יהודי ביזאנטי¹³. מסתבר שדונולו עצמו ראה סכנה בפירושי שים מטעים אלה לפי הלהט בו הוא מתעכב, לפני שהוא ניגש לטיעונו העיקרי, על כוחו ותפארתו של האלוהים, על תלותו הגמורה של האדם באלוהים, על אי-האפשרות המוחלטת של כל השוואה מילולית בין האלוהים והאדם. גופו של האדם על אבריו, כל אחד לתפקודו החיוני, הכרחי לקיומו, ובכל זאת הוא חסר תועלת לגמרי בלי רוח החיים שהאלוהים נפח בו, ושוב יהיה חסר תועלת כשאותה רוח

8 Starr, op. cit., pp. 51-56

9 מונטגר, שבתי דונולו, כרך א' עמ' 24-38 (נוסח).

10 G. Nebbia, *Donnolo, medico e sapiente ebreo di Oria*, Bari, (1963)

11 קאשטילי עמ' 6-30 (המדור העברי); וארשה—ירושלים, עמ' 124-131.

12 מדרש בראשית רבה ח, י; לדוגמאות אחרות לנטיות כאלו ולמאבק המדרשי נגדן, ראה A. Altman, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series 35 (1944-5), pp. 379-381; 385-387

13 See Starr, p. 237; S. Schwarzfuchs, "France and Germany under the Carolingians", *World History of the Jewish People*, pp. 135, 137-141; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, New York. (1960), pp. 36-41

בדרכים אחרות, על ידי בית חולים בתל-אביב ועל ידי שלט שהותקן בשנת 1965 בשער הרובע היהודי העתיק באוריה. דונולו הרופא ידוע גם ללומדי ההיסטוריה הביזנטית, לפחות מאז הפנה שלומברגר את הדעת אל תקרית בביוגרפיה של הנזיר גילוס מקאלאבריה, שבה מוכרת בבירות, אם כי מאונס, מומחיות הרפואית של דונולו³. אולם אצל דונולו, כמו אצל מרבית החוקרים עד הזמנים האחרונים לגמרי, לא היו מחיצות קבועות בין ענפי לימוד שונים, ומן הראוי שיהא ידוע היטב כי דונולו לא היה רופא בלבד. ספר מזלות שלו (פירוש לברייתא דר' שמואל הקטן), שחלקו הקיים כלול בפירושו של ר' שמעון קרא לספר איוב, מראה את ידיעתו בתיאוריות של בני דורו על הקוסמוס, היינו בחכמת התכונה ובאיצטגנינות. הוא מצוי בדפוס מאז 1843⁴. ספר חכמוני שלו, החיבור הארוך ביותר מאת דונולו ששרד, הוא פירוש אחד מני רבים לספר יצירה, המסכת המיסטית על האותיות העבריות כיסודות מרכיבים של בריאת העולם, שהקסימה במשך דורות יהודים ולא-יהודים כאחד, למן חכמי התלמוד ועד לחובבנים המודרניים השונים בחוכמת הנסתר⁵. חלקו הראשון של חכמוני הוהדר על ידי ילינק ב-1854⁶. החיבור השלם יצא לאור על ידי קאשטילי במהדורה ביקורתית (שמעולם לא הוחלפה באחרת) ב-1880⁷. בכל זאת, מאז קאשטילי, לא זכו כתביו הבלתי רפואיים של דונולו אלא לתשומת לב מועטה להפליא. סטאר ייחס להם את המשקל הראוי, אך בהיות לבו נתון לשש מאות שנות היסטוריה יהודית

3 G. Schlumberger, *l'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, vol. 1, Paris (1896), 479, 481; *Nili junioris vita* VII. 50=J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca* vol. 120, cols. 92D-93A; Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 162

4 ההדיר שד"ל ב כרם חמד 7 (1843), עמ' 61-67; הודפס מחדש עם כמה שינויים על ידי מהדיר אלמוני ב- "Der Kommentar des R. Joseph Kara zu Job", *Monatschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 6 (1857) pp. 348-350; 260-3; 7 (1858), 271-3; השווה י"ד איינושטיין, אוצר המדרשים, גיורידק (1915), עמ' 542-547; Starr, *op. cit.*, 157-8

5 G. Scholem in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin edition), ראה, בנוגע לספרות, vol. 9. cols. 104-111; בנוגע לתלמוד, ראה למשל ת"ב סנהדרין סה, ב; בנוגע לאי-אלה פירושים מיוחדים במינם ראה P. Mordell, "Origin of Letters and Numerals according to the Sefer Yetzirah" *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, 2 (1911-1912), pp. 557-582; 3 (1912-1913), pp. 517-535; K. Stenring, *The Book of Creation*, London (1923)

6 A. Jellinek, *Der Mensch als Gottes Ebenbild vom Arzte und Astronomen* R. Schabtai Donnolo, Leipzig (1854)

7 D. Castelli, *Il Commento di Sabbetai Donnolo sul Libro della Creazione*, Florence (1880); הטקסט הודפס מחדש במהדורת ספר יצירה, ביחד עם פירושים אחדים, וארשה (1884) — ירושלים (1962), עמ' 123-148; השווה, Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167

הערות על קטע מספר חכמוני לשבתי דונולו

א. מבוא

שבתי דונולו (913 — אחרי 982 לסה"נ) מאוריה שבאיטליה הביצאנטינית, מבחינה אחת כמעט שאינו זקוק למבוא. ספר מרקחות או ספר היקר שלו, הטקסט הרפואי-העברי הקרום ביותר הקיים באירופה, זיכה אותו, הודות לשטיינ-שניידר ומונטנר, למקום מוכר בהיסטוריה הרפואית לא פחות מאשר בהיסטוריה היהודית¹. אגדה עקשנית קשרה אותו מכבר עם ייסוד בית הספר בסאלרנו, המרכז הרפואי הראשון באירופה להוראת הרפואה². כיום, שמו כרופא הונצח, אם לא

* מתוך חומר שהמחבר מקווה לפרסמו בשם "שבתי דונולו ותקופתו".

- 1 See M. Steinschneider, "Donnolo, pharmakologische Fragmente aus dem X Jahrhundert nebst Beiträgen zur Literatur der Salernitaner, hauptsächlich nach handschriftlichen hebraeischen Quellen", *Virchows Archiv fuer pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und fuer klinische Medicin* 38 (1867), pp. 65-91; 39 (1867), pp. 296-336; 40 (1867), pp. 80-124; 42 (1868), pp. 33-174; *idem, Fragment des altesten medicinischen Werkes in hebraeische Sprache*, Berlin (1872) cf. J. Leveen, "Pharmaceutical Fragment of the 10th Century by Shabbetai Donnolo", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 21 (1927-28), pp. 1397-399; H. Friedenwald, "The Use of the Hebrew Language in Medical Literature", *The Jews in Medicine*, vol. I, Baltimore (1944), pp. 146-184; J. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire* 641-1204, Athens (1939) pp. 28, 164-165; S. Baron, *A Social & Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 8, New York (1958), pp. 244-5, 395-6; H.J. Zimmels, *in World History of the Jewish People*, Tel-Aviv (1967), pp. 197-301
- 2 ראה שטיינשניידר כמו בהערה (1) לעיל; C. & D. Singer, "The School of Salerno", *History* 10 (1925), pp. 242-246; Z. Muntner, "Donnolo et la contribution des Juifs aux premiers oeuvres de la médecine salernitaine", *Revue d'histoire de la médecine hébraïque* 9 (1956), 155-161; P. Kristeller, "The School of Salerno: Its Development and its Contribution to the History of Learning", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 17 (1945), pp. 138-194

נוצרית"⁶⁸. היפוכו של דבר מסתבר הרבה יותר. ייתכן שיוסטיניאנוס ביקש להגביר את הפיקוח על עם שאמונתו שנואה עליו, ושנאמנתו אפוא — לפי הגיון התקופה — חשודה בעיניו.

אם זהו ההסבר הנכון להעברתם של המרדאים, הרי אין לפנינו, כמובן, אלא אחד ממקרים אין-ספור שבהם שעברו האימפריות הנוצריות, הן הרומאית והן הביזאנטית — בניגוד לקודמתן האלילית — אינטרסים אסטראטגיים חיוניים לעניין של מחלוקת תיאולוגית. אולם כדאי להזכיר מקבילה אחת בולטת ביותר לפרשת המרדאים. במשך רוב ימי המאה השישית היתה ממלכת בני גסאן הסודית-ערבית נתונה להשפעה ביזאנטית חזקה. ממלכה זו נלחמה בהתמדה בפשיטותיהם של כמה שבטי נווארים ערבים ובאותה מידה של התמדה — בהתפשטותה של ממלכה שכנה, דומה במקצת, שהיתה נתונה אז להשפעה פרסית. היה זה מבצר עזו בגבולה המזרחי של האימפריה, ומשום כך זרמו לכאן כספי-סיוע ניכרים. אולם בני גאסאן היו מונופיסיטים. בימי יוסטיניאנוס הראשון⁶⁹ — שהיה בעצמו נתון להשפעה מונופיסיטית מסוימת — שרדו יחסים טובים, אולם בימי יורשיו חל שינוי לרעה. לבסוף הורה הירדאקליוס את נציגו בחצר בני גאסאן להפסיק את תשלומי הסיוע מתוך שאמר: "בקושי משלם אדוני את שכר חייליו. כלום יתן כספו לכלבים?"⁷⁰. לאחר מכן הניעו אמנם אסונות המלחמה הפרסית את הירדאקליוס ליתן דעתו על פיוס המונופיסיטים; אולם המבצר נחרב, ובזה הוסד מכשול מדרכו של הפולש הערבי. נראה הרבר, כי שישים שנה לאחר מכן לא למד יוסטיניאנוס ב' מניסיון זה. ייתכן שהמרדאים היו מוסיפים לשמש מחסום לא פחות יעיל — על כל פנים במשך תקופה מסוימת — ודבר זה היה מקשה על החזירה לשטח האימפריה.

68 קולאקובסקי, כנ"ל, חו, עמ' 256.

69 על יוסטיניאנוס א' ובני גאסאן ראה פ. גובר (P. Goubert), "Le problème ghassanide à la veille de l'Islam", Actes du VI-ème Congrès d'Etudes Byzantines, פאריס (1948), ח, עמ' 103—118.

70 תיאופאנס, ח, 335 (23).

בעולם הערבי שבאותו זמן) ואפילו ניתן להם מענק לצרכי אספקה. וכשפורץ מרד שני זמן קצר לאחר מכן, ונחרבת לבסוף עירם בידי מסלמה אבן עבד אל-מלך, אחיו של הכליף החדש נלך (705—715), אנו שומעים שוב על מפקד יווני, המצליח להימלט אל מעבר לגבול האימפריה עם כמה משומרי ראשו. כל המעשה מסופר בפרטות מה על-ידי אל בלאדרי ⁶⁰. רק בימי יאזד השני (720—724) נקלטו כנראה המרדאים שרידי הטבח בחיק האיסלאם ⁶¹. נאמנותם של המרדאים — וכן סגולותיהם הצבאיות — מסתברות גם על-פי העובדה, שאף להבא נזכרים בפירוש המועברים לפאמפיליה, כיסוד רב-ערך בארגון התימות. האזכור האחרון הוא מן המאה העשירית, בה הגיע אותו ארגון לשיאו. נאמר בו, כי קצין מרדאי, הקטפון הועמד תחת פיקודו הישיר של מפקד התימה הקיברית ⁶², וכי כוח אפקטיבי של כ-6000 מרדאים נמנה עם התימה הקלדית (בצדה המערבי של יוון) ⁶³.

אולם היתה סיבה אחרת שבגללה חש אולי יוסטיניאנוס, כי אינו יכול לסמוך על המרדאים, ואפשר שסיבה זו היא ביסוד העניין כולו. המרדאים היו נוצרים, אולם במקרה מונותלטים קנאים ⁶⁴, בני הכת שהאמינה, שהיה לישו רצון אלוהי אך לא רצון אנושי. הביזאנטינים עצמם פיתחו סטייה זו מן העמדה הנוצרית המקובלת, מתוך מאמץ לפייס את רוב נתיניהם המצריים, שהיו מונופיסיטים — בני הכת ששללה את טבעו האישי של ישו להבדיל מטבעו האלוהי ⁶⁵. אולם עם אבדנה של מצרים חדל המניע המעשי לגסיון-פשרה זה, והוועידה האקומנית השישית (680—681) החרימה לחלוטין אותה כפירה חדשה ⁶⁶. יוסטיניאנוס התגאה באורתודוקסיה הקיצונית שלו; אכן היא, כנראה, שהחביבה אותו על כמה ביזאנטיניסטים בני תקופתנו ועודדה אותם להסביר ולהצדיק אותם מעשי האיוולת והאכזריות הרבים, שתיאופאנס הארתודוקס-ללארדופי לא היסס לגנותם. בשנים 691 ו-692 מילא יוסטיניאנוס תפקיד מכריע בוועידה מיוחדת, שכונסה לאישור תקנותיהן של הוועידה האקומנית החמישית והשישית ⁶⁷, ומתקבל על הדעת שאי אמונו במרדאים גבר ככל שהרהר בפסלותם המובהקת של עיקרי דתם. קולאקובסקי, מנאמני סניגוריו של יוסטיניאנוס, רמז על האפשרות כי סיבת ההעברה היתה רצונו של יוסטיניאנוס ל"הושיב עם נוצרי בארץ

60 אל-בלאדרי, ו, עמ' 249.

61 P. K. Hitti, History of Syria, לונדון (1951), עמ' 449.

62 קונסטנטינוס פורפירוגניטוס (Constantine Porphyrogenitus), De Cerimoniis, Aulæ Byzantinæ, הוצ' י. י. רייסקה (I. I. Reiske), Historiæ Byzantinæ, בון (1829), ו, 656 (17)—657 (7).

63 שם, ו, 654 (1—6).

64 לאמנס, כנ"ל, עמ' 18.

65 על תורה זו ועל פרסומה ב"אקתסיס" של היראקליוס (בשנת 638) ראה ו. גרימל (V. Grumel), Recherches l'histoire du Monothélisme, Echos d'Orient, ב' (1928), עמ' 6—16.

66 י. ד. מאנסי (J. D. Mansi), Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, פירנצה חנוניה (1759—1798), XI, 656.

67 על חקנותיה של ועידה זו — ה" Quinisextum — ראה ס. י. הפלה (C. I. Héfele), Histoire des Conciles, פאריס (1909), III, עמ' 560—578.

טינים יחד; כאלה כן אלה נטלו מחצית המסים. בין שהיה בכך משום הסדר הוגן — לפי המצב באי — ובין שלא היה, אין שום ספק כי למעשה לא הניח הרבר ימים רבים את דעת הקיסר. זמן קצר לאחר העברתם של המרדאים לקה הקיסר כשליש אוכלוסי קפריסין והושיבם בדרומה של אסיה הקטנה⁵⁵. אמנם ניתן ליחס העברה זו וגם זו של המרדאים לתכנית שבה דגלו רוב קיסרי המאה השביעית, והיא הגרלת אוכלוסייתם של המחוזות הצבאיים החדשים (תימות), שטחים המורכבים מאחוזות קרקע שניתנו תמורת שירות צבאי תורשתי⁵⁶. המרדאים נכללו בתימה הקיפרינית, שעמה נמנתה פאמפיליה ואף-על-פי ששיטה זו עזרה בדרך-כלל בפתרון בעיות הגנה ממלכתיות, אף-על-פי-כן מעשיו של יוסטיניאנוס עצמו להפעלתה הביאו תוצאות שליליות ביותר. שהרי כשם שהעברת המרדאים פתחה את הגבול בפני הפולש, כך אפשר שהעברתם של הקפריסאים היתה הסיבה הבלתי-אמצעית לניתוק היחסים בשנת 693 ולפלישת הערבים שבאה בעקבותיו⁵⁷.

הסבר אחר להעברת המרדאים ניתן על-ידי אוסטרדוגוסקי, היינו שיוסטיניאנוס חשב כנראה, בצדק, כי אין בהם עור תועלת. "הם שירתו יפה את הביזאנטינים במאבקם עם הערבים, אולם עתה הם נגרדים בהדרגה לצד המוסלמים"⁵⁸. כנגד דעה זו יש ראיות חזקות. זמן רב לאחר ההעברה הוסיפו המרדאים שנשארו במקומם לגלות אהדה לביזאנטיה ולהיות סכנה לערבים. בשנת 691 או 692 התקיף מצביא ערבי בשם קסיס אֶן אַל-מְהַאגִיר מרדאים "מונהגים בידי יוונים" והרג בהם. רובם הצליחו להימלט למבצרם בהרים⁵⁹. בשנת 708 היה מרד מרדאי רציני, "אליו הצטרפה חבורת יוונים מאסכנדרונה" (אלכסנדריה). אמנם המרד רוכא מהר, אולם הערבים סברו, כנראה, שכראי להם לקבוע למורדים תנאים נוחים ככל שנקבעו להם אי פעם: לא נאלצו להמיר דתם, לא חוייבו גם עתה בתשלום מסים, הודשו ללבוש בגדי מוסלמים (זכות-יתר יוצאת מן הכלל — אולי יחידה במינה —

55 תיאופאנט, ו, 365 (9).

56 כמעט ודאי ששיטת התימות הונהגה בימי הקיסר היראקליוס (610—641); ראה א. שטיין 56 כמעט ודאי ששיטת התימות הונהגה בימי הקיסר היראקליוס (610—641); ראה א. שטיין (1919), עמ' 117—140, שעד עתה לא עלה בידי איש לטתור נימוקיו, והשוה ו. אנטלין (1919), עמ' 383; מכאן שלפני תאריך זה לא היה ניכר מספרם של המסבעות נוצרית (אל-בלאדרי, ו, עמ' 383); מכאן שלפני תאריך זה לא היה ניכר מספרם של המסבעות עם כתובת ערבית. נראה יותר, כי המסבעות המועטות מסוג זה שהיו עלולות להגיע לידי יוסטיניאנוס, שימשו לו תירוץ. ראה היל, כנ"ל, עמ' 287, הערה מס' 3, ושם רשימת בני סמך לעניין זה. מיכאל הסורי, ו, עמ' 470, אומר באופן חד משמעי כי העברת הקפריסאים היא שהחשיה את פרוץ פעולות האיבה, וכן אומר גם מקור סורי מאוחר אחר, בר הבריאוס, Chronographia, (Bar Hebraeus), ערך ותידגם א.א. וואלס באג' (E. A. Wallis) (Budge), לונדון (1932), ו, עמ' 103.

57 הסבר מצוי יותר במקורות הוא, כי מסבעות ועליהן כתובת בערבית לא היו מקובלות על הביזאנטינים לתשלום המס (דלגר, כנ"ל, 260). אולם רק בשנת 696, שינה עבד אל-מלך את צורת המסבעות דווקא, כדי להסיר תקלה שנגרמה לנתיניו שלו על-ידי מסבעות ועליהן כתובת נוצרית (אל-בלאדרי, ו, עמ' 383); מכאן שלפני תאריך זה לא היה ניכר מספרם של המסבעות עם כתובת ערבית. נראה יותר, כי המסבעות המועטות מסוג זה שהיו עלולות להגיע לידי יוסטיניאנוס, שימשו לו תירוץ. ראה היל, כנ"ל, עמ' 287, הערה מס' 3, ושם רשימת בני סמך לעניין זה. מיכאל הסורי, ו, עמ' 470, אומר באופן חד משמעי כי העברת הקפריסאים היא שהחשיה את פרוץ פעולות האיבה, וכן אומר גם מקור סורי מאוחר אחר, בר הבריאוס, Chronographia, (Bar Hebraeus), ערך ותידגם א.א. וואלס באג' (E. A. Wallis) (Budge), לונדון (1932), ו, עמ' 103.

58 אוסטרדוגוסקי, History of the Byzantine State, עמ' 117.

59 אל-בלאדרי, ו, עמ' 248.

רובם מסוריה והושיבם בפנים הממלכה — בפאמפיליה שבחופה הדרומי של אסיה הקטנה. בין אַסְלֵיָה וּמִילֵטוֹס⁵⁰. לא יצאו ימים מרובים והורגשו תוצאותיה של פעולה זו. בשתיים-עשרה השנים הקודמות היתה היזמה בידי ביזאנטיה. בשום זמן למן כיבוש סוריה על-ידי הערבים לא נראו הערבים חלשים כל כך והביזאנטינים חזקים כל כך. ואולם משניתנה לערבים הזדמנות לחזור ולהתקיף, היה ביכולתם לעשות זאת. כשפרצה המלחמה מחדש, בשנת 693, הוכו הביזאנטינים מכה ניצחת, ואם כי הסיבה העיקרית לכך לא היתה כרוכה בהחלשת "חומת הנחושת", הרי כרוך בה עצם מקום הקרב. היה זה בתוך תוכה של האימפריה. כלומר ששוב ניתן לערבים לערוך את "מסעותיהם"⁵¹ בהצלחה. מזה נבע בהכרח חידוש האיום הערבי על אסיה הקטנה. אמת, בשום זמן לא הצליחו הערבים להתבסס שם ברצינות, בניגוד לפולשים מוסלמים בזמן מאוחר יותר, אולם המצב בכללו, שיוצב לפי שעה לטובת הביזאנטינים, הור ונעשה בלתי-יציב, ובמידה רבה לטובת הערבים. שוב אין אנו שומעים על נטישת מבצרים מחשש לפשיטות המרדאים. בשנת 701 תופסים הערבים את העיר מופסוֹאֶסְטִיָה. בצידם הביזאנטי של הרי הטאורוס, ובשנתיים שלאחר-מכן הם מבצרים אותה ובונים בה מסגדים. חשיבותו של מאורע זה משתקפת בשימת-הלב המוקדשת לו במקורות⁵². אכן, עד מצור קושטה בשנים 717 ו-718 היה למעשה גבולה המזרחי של ביזאנטיון נתון שוב להתקפות רצופות. אמנם גילוי מסוים של פעילות ביזאנטינית היה בין השנים 703 ל-704, אולם התמונה הכללית היא עגומה, ואם כי ברור הדבר שפעלו כאן גם גורמים אחרים מלבד העברת המרדאים, כגון חיזוק הכליפות האומאית, מצד אחד, ומצד אחר אי שביעת-רצון משלטונו של יוסטיניאנוס שהגיעה לשיאה בהדחתו — הרי הסיבה הבלתי-אמצעית בגבול עצמו היתה בלא ספק הרחקתם של בעלי-בריתה החשובים של האימפריה.

מה היו מניעיו של הקיסר למעשה זה? על-פי מבט ראשון קשה לראות כאן מניע אחד חזק במידה מספקת. לא היו ויתורים נוספים מצד הערבים. חלק מתנאי החוזה לא היו נוחים יותר משהיו בשנת 685. המס, לפי מקורות יווניים, נשאר ללא שינוי; ואילו לפי מקור ערבי אחד, לפחות, הופחת למעשה שיעורו במידה ניכרת, הואיל ואלף מטבעות הזהב, העבד והסוס הגזעי היו צריכים להינתן כל שבוע ולא כל יום⁵³. על כל פנים, לא היה שום רמז להגדלתו. אך היה סעיף נוסף. בשנת 649 קנו הערבים דריסת-רגל בקפריסין והשתמשו בה כבסיס להתקפתם על קושטה, אלא שלא כבשוה כליל, דוגמת רוֹדוֹס⁵⁴. לפי החוזה החדש ניתן שלטון האי בידי הערבים והביזאנטי-

50 דלגר, כנ"ל, 257.

51 היה זה קרב סיבאסטופוליס (תיאופאנס, ו, 366, 6). עיר זו לא זוהתה בודאות מוחלטת, אולם מסתבר ביותר כי היתה בקליקיה. ראה א.ו. ברוקס *The Locality of the Battle of Sebastopolis* ב"Byzantinische Zeitschrift" XVIII (1909), 154—156.

52 תיאופאנס, ו, 363, 17; 372, 4; אלטברי, מצוטט אצל ברוקס, *Arabs in Asia Minor*, עמ' 191. אליבלאדרי, 255—256 (פרק שלם); מיכאל הסורי, ו, עמ' 447—448.

53 ראה דלגר, כנ"ל, 257, כמצוטט לעיל, הערה 50, והשווה אלטברי, כמצוטט אצל ברוקס, כנ"ל, עמ' 189. 54 מיכאל הסורי, ו, עמ' 441—442.

λοιμοῦ ἐπικρατοῦντος, ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀβιμέλεχ τὴν ἐπὶ Μαυρίου ζητηθεῖσαν ἐρήνην αἰτεῖται ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς αὐτὰς τξέ χιλιάδας τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων συνθέμενος τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς τξέ δούλους καὶ ὁμοίως εὐγενεῖς Ἴππους τξέ⁴⁷.

[תרגום]

“בשנה זו היו בסוריה רעב ומגפה גדולה, ועבד אל־מלך [במקור: ‘אבימלך’] נעשה שליט העם. המרדאים פשטו כשדצים על חלקים מן הלבנון, ועבד אל־מלך [=כנל] ביקש את השלום שנתבקש בימי מעאויה. הוא שלח שגרירים אל הקיסר ובידיהם 365,000 מטבעות זהב, בהוסיפו על כך 365 עבדים וכן 365 סוסים גזעיים.”

הפעם ניתן להקביל את דברי תיאופנס לידיעה דומה מאוד בדברי אל־בלאדירי: “בימי אבן אל־בזיר, כשמת פרון אבן אל חפם (היה כליף משנת 684 עד 685) ועבד אל־מלך ביקש לרשת את הכליפות... יצאו פדשים יווניים מסוימים אל הר אל־לפאם (אמנוס), בראשותו של יווני, ופנו אל הלבנון לאחר שהצטרף אליהם כוח גדול של אנשי אל־ג'נג'מה...”

במסיבות אלו, גאלץ עבד אל־מלך לבוא לידי הסכם אתם, והסכים לשלם 1000 דינר לשבוע. כן בא לידי הסכם עם העריץ היווני, מתוך שהסכים לשלם לו סכום־כסף מסוים, שכן חשש שמא יתגבר עליו העריץ אם יבוא לסוריה. בעשותו כך הלך בעקבותיו של מעאויה⁴⁸.

שתי הידיעות משלימות למעשה זו את זו שכן אם המקור היווני ברור הרבה יותר בענין סכום המס, הרי המקור הערבי מדגיש את העובדה הבולטת בנוגע למרדאים, כלומר שהביזאנטינים המשיכו להדריכם ולעודדם.

ברורה אפוא למדי חשיבותם של המרדאים במערכת ההגנה הביזאנטינית בגבול המזרחי. באותה תקופה, הם היו, למעשה, גדול הנכסים שלה — “חומת הנחושת”, כביטוי של תיאופאנס⁴⁹. ואולם דומה, כי יורשו של קונסטאנטינוס הרביעי, יוסטיניאנוס השני (685—695; 705—711), לא ידע להעריך את המרדאים כערכם. בשנת 690, במסגרת תנאים גוספים לחוזה השלום שחודש בשנה הקודמת הוא העביר את

47 תיאופאנס, ו, 361 (7—13). דברים אלו רשומים בתאריך שנת 6176 לבריאת העולם (684 לסה"נ), אולם טעות כזו שנה היא טיפוסית ל־Chronographia לגבי רוב המאה השביעית והשמינית; ראה ג. אוסטרוגורסקי, Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts, Byzantinisches-Neugriechisches Jahrbuch, VII, (1930), עמ' 1—56.

48 אל־בלאדירי, ו, 247—248. גם כאן התאריך מוטעה — שנת 70 להגירה (689—690 לסה"נ), אולם עלי־המלים הראשונות אין כל ספק שהכונה לשנת 685.

49 תיאופאנס, ו, 364 (5); (על ביטוי זה, אשר מקורו במצרית עתיקה ואשר יש לו מהלכים הן בתעודות האכדיות מפניקיה שבארמון אל־עמארנה, והן במקרא [שהוא בודאי המקור הראשוני להשאלה כאן, הש' ירמ' ט"ו, כ"ז ע' א. אלט (A. Alt): “Hic murus aheneus” (W. F. Albright), ZDMG, II (1932), pp. 34—48; ו. פ. אולברייט (W. F. Albright): The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre, JEA, XXIII, (1937) 2, p. 199, l. 53, note 9

להם. ברהיה הסתפק בציטוט משפט אחד של תיאופאנס בהערה³⁹. דיהל אמנם הזכיר את המרדאים בגוף דבריו, אולם התייחס אליהם כאל גורם טפל⁴⁰. אוסטרור-גורסקי האומר כי "אי אפשר להפריז בחשיבותו של נצחון ביזאנטיה בשנת 678", אינו מזכיר כלל את המרדאים בהקשר זה⁴¹.

ולא היו פעולות המרדאים בשנת 678 שירותם האחרון לביזאנטיה. התקפותיהם על הערבים נמשכו, ופראותם היתה לפתגם בפי האנשים⁴². הערבים ניסו לבטל את השפעתם של המרדאים הגדלה והולכת על-ידי שהושיבו בקרבם קבוצות מתאסלמים נאמנים, שהעבירום לצורך זה משטחים מרוחקים כגון בצרה וסינד — מראשוני כיבושיהם — ושעליהם סמכו לחלוטין⁴³. אולם ניסיון זה לא הצליח. גם בימי צבד אל-מלך (685-705), היו המרדאים בעיה צבאית חמורה. "שעה שנערך מסע הקיץ (היינו לשטח הביזאנטי)", אומר אל-בלאדרי, "היו אנשי אל-ג'נג'מה עורכים פשיטות נגד כפרי אנטיוכיה ואל-צמק והיו מנתקים את הנחשלים או הנגררים יחד עם אותם שניתן לנתקם בעורף הצבא. בפעולותיהם נגד המוסלמים הרחיקו לכת כל כך... עד שאנשים מסוימים קיבלו משכורת, הוצבו כחילות-מצב והופעלו מאחורי צבאות מסע הקיץ על מנת להדוף את אנשי אל-ג'ראג'מה מן העורף"⁴⁴.

מאמצים אלו עלו כנראה בתוהו. תיאופאנס אומר, כי "כל ערי ההר, המיושבות עתה (כלומר, בימיו) על-ידי ערבים, אין בהן ביצורים והן ריקות מפני פשיטות המרדאים"⁴⁵, וייתכן שבשנת 688 אבדה זמנית אנטיוכיה עצמה⁴⁶. אמנם אין לוקוף את כל התאוששותם של הביזאנטינים לזכות המרדאים. פשיטותיהם הופעלו ובמקרים רבים גם כוונו על-ידי התקפות-נגד קצרות אך חזקות של כוחות ביזאנטיניים סדירים שהצלחותיהם מסתברות בחלקן מתוך כושרו ויזמתו של קונסטאנטינוס הרביעי ובחלקן מתוך מריבות פנימיות בין הערבים, שנתחדשו לאחר מותו של מעאויה (בשנת 680) ונמשכו לפחות עד שנת 692. אולם העובדה החשובה לענייננו היא, שבשנת 685, כשהשיגו הערבים חווה-שלום חדש במחיר תוספת-מס עצומה, נתברר כי המרדאים עודם הגורם העיקרי לצרותיהם.

הנה דברי תיאופאנס :

Τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἐγενέτο λιμός καὶ θανάτικον μέγα ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἀβιμέλεξ ἑκράτησε τοῦ ἔθνους. τῶν δὲ Μαρδαίτων ἐπιτιθέμενων τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ λιβάνου, καὶ τοῦ

39 ל. ברהיה (L. Bréhier), *Vie et mort de Byzance*, פאריס (1948), עמ' 64, הערה 2.
40 ק. דיהל (C. Diehl) וזי. מארסה (G. Marçais), *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, פאריס (1945), עמ' 241-242.

41 אוסטרורגורסקי, כנ"ל, עמ' 112.

42 כגון ביטויי של תיאופאנס: "כדרך המרדאים" (ו, 397, 17).

43 ה. לאמנס (H. Lammens), בערך Mardaites של *Encyclopaedia of Islam* ה'צ' מ. ט. האוטסמא (M. T. Houtsma) ואחרים, לונדון (1928-1936), IV, עמ' 200.

44 אל בלאדרי, ו, 250. 45 תיאופאנס, ו, 363 (19-20).

46 *La Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ערך וחירגם זי. פ. שאבו (J. P. Chabot), פאריס (1899-1910), II, עמ' 470, אולם בדרך כלל אפשר לסמוך עליו בענייני המזרח.

"כששמעו זאת מעאוויה ויועציו³⁶ פחדו מאוד, בהסיקם כי הממלכה הרומית (כלומר הביזאנטית) נתונה בחסות אלוהים. ומעאוויה שיגר שגרירים אל קונסטנטינוס הקיסר לבקש שלום, ואפילו הבטיח לשלם מס שנתי. המלך קיבל את פני השגרירים ונענה לבקשתם. הוא שלח חזרה אתם לסוריה את יוחנן הפאטריי-ציוס, הנודע בשם פֶּטְרִינְאָוּס, איש אציל בעל ניסיון ותבונה, שהיה ביכולתו לשאת ולתת עם הערבים בדרך גאותה ולקבוע את תנאי השלום. כשהגיע לסוריה, ערך מעאוויה אסיפה גדולה של אמירים ושד"ציבא וקיבל את פניו בכבוד רב. לאחר שנאמרו דברים רבים מאוד, הוסכמו ביניהם תנאי שלום מאושרים בשבועה, וכן המס השנתי שישלמו הערבים למדינה הרומית: שלושת אלפים מטבעות זהב, חמישים שבויים חמישים סוסים גזעיים. כן הותנה בין שני הצדדים, כי יקויים בין הרומאים והערבים שלום בלי יופר במשך שלושים שנה. הוחלפו בין שני הצדדים העתקים מושבעים מן החוזה הזה, ולאחר-מכן חזר אותו איש מהולל ביותר אל דיבונה, בשאתו עמו מתנות רבות. וכשנודע הדבר לשוכני המערב, כשנודע לכֶּנְן האַנְדִּים, לשליטי ארצות אחרות, לנסיכים ולבעלי המצודות, שלחו כולם אל המלך שגרירים נושאי מתנות וביקשוהו להעניק להם שלום וידידות. ושלום ובטחון שדרו במזרח כבמערב".

על-פי קטע זה (הבא מיד לאחר הדברים על פשיטת המרדאים בסוריה, שכבר צוטטו), ברור שלערבים על כל פנים לא היה שום ספק בנוגע לגורם השינוי הפתאומי בעמדתם, וכן ברור, שהיתה כאן הפיכה גמורה במצב העניינים. עד אותה שעה היו כמה מחבליה החשובים ביותר של ביזאנטיה כבושים בידי האויב המסתער, ויום-יום היה צפוי אבדן בירתה; ואילו עתה היתה ביכולתה להכריח אותו אויב לשלם מס גבוה כתנאי לשלום. היתה זו ההצלחה הממשית הראשונה, שלה זכתה ביזאנטיה באותה חזית מזה עשרים שנה, וההצלחה באה לה בשעה שהסיכויים להצלחה כזאת נראו קלוז-שים ביותר. אולם השינוי לטובה לא חל רק בעמדתה של ביזאנטיה בהיאבקותה עם האיסלאם. משמעות רבה נודעת לציון "כֶּנְן האַנְדִּים". בארבע השנים הקודמות העסיקו אויבים את קונסטנטינוס גם בצפון, והוא ערך מסע מוצלח-בחלקו נגד הסלאבים והאורורים באזור תיסאלוניקי³⁷; נראה כי עתה הושלם אותו הישג ואף ההערה על "הנסיכים ובעלי המצודות" במערב אינה בבחינת מליצה בלבד. יודעים אנו שאותה שנה הגיעה לקושטה משלחת של רצון טוב מאיטליה הלאנגובארדית, שהתרשמה בכנות ממפלת הערבים³⁸. מן הראוי לציין, כי ביזאנטיניסטים דגולים נטו לתאר את המאורעות של שנת 678 בלי להקצות למרדאים את המקום הראוי

36 כלומר, הידיעה על הצלחות המרדאים, כפי שמתאר אותן תיאופאנס בקטע 353 (6-9); המובא לעיל (הש' הערה מס' 34).

37 ראה ס. למרל (P. Lemerle), *La Composition et la Chronologie des Miracula*, (S. Demetrit, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XLVI, (1953), עמ' 356-359.

38 דלגר, כנ"ל, 240.

בראשית מלכותו של קונסטאנטינוס הרביעי זכו המרדאים ליותר מ"מגע ידידותי" עם ממשלת ביזאנטיה. הם נתעודדו לנטוש את מבצרם ההררי ולנוע דרומה ללבנון.³² באירגונם של מפקדים ביזאנטיניים נעשתה תנועה זו בשנת 677 כמעט פלישה מקיפה לשטח הערבי, בעוד הרבה תושבים מקומיים, שקצה נפשם בשלטון הערבים הצטרפו למרדאים.³³ היתה זאת ראשונה בסדרת גיחות כאלו. הסכנה מצד המרדאים נעשתה קבועה ומתמדת, ותיאופאנס מציין שהשפעתם הגיעה עד חומת אנטיוכיה.³⁴ כתוצאה מכך אנוס היה מעאזיה בשנת 678 להסיר את המצור מעל קושטה ולבקש שלום.

פרטיה של הפיכה גמורה זו במצב העניינים מתוארים על-ידי תיאופאנס בצורה שאינה משתמעת לשתי פנים.

καὶ ταῦτα μαθὼν Μαυρίας καὶ οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα, συλλογισά-
-μενοι ὅτι τὸ βασιλεῖον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ θεοῦ φρουρεῖται. καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρέσβεις
πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κωνσταντῖνον ζητῶν ἐρήνην, ὑποσχόμενος καὶ ἐτήσια τῷ
βασιλεῖ παρέχειν πάκτα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς τοιοῦτους [15] πρέσβεις δεξάμενος καὶ
τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῶν ἀκηκῶς, ἀπέστειλε σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ Ἰωάννην τὸν πατρίκιον,
τὸ ἐπίκλην πιτζίγαυδιν, ὡς ἀρχαιογενῆ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ πολυπείρον ὄντα καὶ
μεγάλῃς ἀντεχόμενον φρονήσεως, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρμοδίως διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς Ἀραβι καὶ
τῆς εἰρήνης συμφωνῆσαι. τούτο δὲ καταλαβόντος ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὁ [20] Μαυρίας σώρευμα
πεποικῶς τῶν τε ἀμηνραίων καὶ κορᾶσηνῶν ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν μετὰ μεγάλῃς τιμῆς.
πολλῶν οὖν ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἰρηναίων λεχθέντων λόγων, συνεφωνήθη πρὸς
ἐκατέρους ἔγγραφον γενέσθαι εἰρήνης μεθ' ὄρκου λογὸν ἐπὶ συμφώνου ἐτησίου
πάκτου, παρέχεσθαι τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ πολιτεία παρὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν χρυσοῦ χιλιάδας [25]
τρεις καὶ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους ν' καὶ ἱππους εὐγενεῖς ν'. ταῦτα στοιχηθέντα ματαξὺ τῶν
δύο μερῶν ἐπὶ χρόνους λ' φυλάττεσθαι πλατεῖαν εἰρήνην ἀνάμεσον Ῥωμαίων καὶ
Ἀραβῶν πεποίηκεν. καὶ τῶν τοιούτων καθολικῶν δύο ἐγγράφων λόγων πρὸς ἀλλήλ-
-ους μεθ' ὄρκων γεγονότων καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδοθέντων, ὁ πολλαχῶς λεχθεῖς [356]
πανεύφημος ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπέστρεψε μετὰ καὶ δῶρων πολλῶν. ταῦτα
μαθόντες οἱ τὰ ἐσπέρια οἰκοῦντες μέρη, ὁ τε Χάγανος τῶν Ἀβάρων καὶ οἱ εἰτέκεινα
βῆγες ἔξαρχοι τε καὶ κάσταλδοι καὶ οἱ ἐξοχάτατοι τῶν πρὸς τὴν δύσιν ἔθνων,
διὰ πρεσβευτῶν δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ στείλαντες εἰρηναίην πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγάπην κυρωθ-
-ῆναι [5] ἤτησαντο. εἰζας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς αὐτῶν αἰτήσεσιν, ἐκυρώσε καὶ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς δεσποτικὴν εἰρήνην. καὶ ἐγένετο ἀμεριμνία μεγάλη ἐν τε τῇ αὐατολῇ καὶ
δύσει.³⁵

הביזאנטיני; ראה אה הפרטים המעניינים שבמדרין הצבאי הביזאנטיני הנווד Strategicon

(פ. אוסאריס [F. Ausaresses] (L'Armée byzantine à la fin du VI-ème siècle, עמ' 20.

פאריס (1909), עמ' 20.

32 ניקפורוס 36 (28—29). 33 תיאופאנס, ו, 355 (10).

34 תיאופאנס, ו, 355 (6—9). זוהי ללא ספק כוננת המלים "עדֹס תִּיς ἀγίας πολεωδֹס"

שהרי לא ייתכן כי כוננתן לירושלים. 35 תיאופאנס, ו, 355 (10)—356 (8).

שמרו על עצמאותם. אולם עם בואם של הערבים החלו המרדאים, שקיבלו בינתיים אחת מצורות הנצרות²³, לתמוך באופן ברור יותר בענייניה של ביזאנטיה. דבר זה ניתן להסיק בפשטות מן העובדה, שתושביה הערבים של סוריה הם שקראו להם לראשונה "מרדאים", מלשון מרידה²⁴, בעוד הביזאנטינים נהגו לכנותם עד אמצע המאה השביעית בכינוי ἀπελάται שפירושו על דרך החיוב: "שומרי מחנה מזוינים", ועל דרך השלילה: "גונבי בקר"²⁵.

כשנכבשה אנטיוכיה בשנת 638 נעלם, כנראה, קיומם של המרדאים מעיני הכובשים. אותה שעה היו מרוכזים בעיר אל־ג'נאג'מה שבהרי צ'מנוס, אותו חלק של רכס מול־הטאורוס, המשתרע דרום־מערבה עד גדת האורונטוס, וכך נתאפשר להם לחלוש על המעבר לאלכסנדריה ולאזור החוף של אנאטוליה הביזאנטית. בעמדה חזקה כזאת ניתן להם לכרות שלום נפרד עם הערבים בזמן הנוח להם ולזכות בזכויות־יתר מסוימות. אחמד אבן יחיא אל־בלאד'רי, מקור איסלאמי מעולה לאותה תקופה, מספר כי לא הצטרכו לשלם את הַגִ'זָּה — המס על לא־מוסלמים — אף־על־פי שלא היה בדעתם להתאסלם²⁶. שלא כגוהג המקובל נכללו המרדאים במערכת ההגנה הערבית, אם כי אדמתם לא נכבשה למעשה. בתיאור הביצורים, שהערבים החלו לבנותם על הגבול הסורי, מזכיר אל־בלאד'רי יחידת מרדאים שהמציא הערבי השאם הציבה בנקודה חשובה, והיא מצודת פְּנֶה, ליד מקום שהערבים קראו לו פְּנֶה, והוא כנראה מעבר באִילֶן²⁷. זהו אחד המקרים, שבהם השתמשו במרדאים באופן זה, אם כי מקובל יותר היה לצרפם יחד עם חיל־מצב ערבי²⁸. הם לא קיבלו שכר, אולם היו זכאים לשלל מלחמה. זמן קצר שימשו מעין כוח־גרילה ערבי, ואולם נאמנותם לערבים לא היתה מעולם חזקה ביותר. "במקרים מסוימים", אומר אל־בלאד'רי, "נהגו כשורה כלפי המושלים המוסלמים; אולם במקרים אחרים סטו מן הדרך הישרה וקיימו מגע ידידותי עם היוונים"²⁹. ואמנם עמדתם החזקה נתנה להם הזדמנות מצוינת למלא תפקיד כפול כזה. כשנתבררה התועלת הצפויה מהם מאחורי קווי האויב, החלו הביזאנטינים לעזור להם באמצעות יחידות סדירות קטנות, שהיה באפשרותן להסתגן דרך ביצורי הערבים³⁰, וכן להטיל עליהם צורה מסוימת של ארגון צבאי³¹.

- 23 ראה להלן, עמ' 244.
- 24 סיר ג'ורג' היל (Sir George Hill), History of Cyprus, קיימברג' (1940), ו, עמ' 287, הערה 1, מביא אסמכתות לפירוש זה, הקשר לשורש "מרד" גלוי לעין.
- 25 סאתאס, שם; ייתכן שמונה זה לא היה מדויק, הואיל ולאמיתו של דבר אפשר היה לנקוט בו רק לגבי המשחמשים בסוג מסוים של נשק; ראה היל, כנ"ל, עמ' 261, הערה 2.
- 26 אל־בלאד'רי, The Origins of the Islamic State, ערכו וחיידגו פ. כ. חתי (P. K. Hitti) ופ. מארגוטן (F. C. Margotten) ג'ניירוק (1916—1924), ו, עמ' 246.
- 27 אל־בלאד'רי, ו, 258.
- 28 ה. לאמנס (H. Lammens), Études sur le règne du Califé Muawia I, בִּיִּוּת "Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph", ו, עמ' 17 (1908—1906).
- 29 אל־בלאד'רי, ו, 247. 30 אל־בלאד'רי, ו, 246.
- 31 בתיאופאנס, ו, 363 (6) הם מתוארים כ־τάγμα, הוא המונח הטכני ליחידה הבסיסית של הצבא

לחץ זה שהלך וגבר על ביצוריה המזרחיים של האימפריה, הגיע לשיאו בשנת 673. בקיץ של שנה זו וכן בכל קיץ בחמש השנים שלאחר-מכן, נעשו נסיונות שיטתיים לכבוש את קושטה. נסיונות אלו נעשו הן מצד הים והן מתוך שילוב עם כוחות יבשתיים, שהרי הערבים השתלטו על העיר קיזיקוס, בעברו השני של הבוספורוס, והשתמשו בה כבסיס משך כל אותה תקופה¹⁷. אכן היה מצור ממושך ותקיף הרבה יותר מזה שבשנים 717 ו-718, הנודע כנראה יותר; וכל עוד נמשך המצור היתה ביזאנטיה נתונה בסכנת חורבן ממש. אולם בשנת 678, בשלהי הקיץ, חדלו פתאום הערבים מנסיונותיהם ונחתם חוזה שלום, שתנאיו מראים בבירור על נצחון של ביזאנטיה¹⁸.

כמה וכמה סיבות היו לכשלון הערבים. הסיבה הראשונה היתה, כמובן, נעוצה בגורם הקבוע של המצב הגיאוגרפי: העיר מוקפת מים משלושה צדדים וקשה היה לפרוץ את חומותיה באופן ממשי בלי להעביר תחילה כוחות חזקים אל מבואותיה היבשתיים שבמערב. הסיבה השנייה היתה — לפי כל המקורות — החומר המכונה "האש היוונית", שבה השתמשו הביזאנטינים — ויהיה אשר יהיה טיבו של חומר זה ואופן הפעלתו¹⁹. הסיבה השלישית — הרוחות הלא-נוחות שבאו ברציפות ולאחריהן סופה²⁰. אולם הסיבה החשובה שבכולן, שהאיטה כנראה את קצב הפעולות עוד לפני הנסיגה הסופית, היתה התערבותה של קבוצת שבטים תושבי שטח הכיבוש הערבי בצדם של הביזאנטינים. קשריו של עם זה אל הביזאנטינים חשובים מאוד, ולא רק משום העזרה שהושיט באותו משבר ועוד מספר שנים לאחר-מכן, אלא גם משום שיש כאן דוגמה מעניינת ליחסה הכללי של האימפריה לבעלי-בריתה בכוח ובפועל. שבטים אלו נקראו בדרך-כלל "מרדאים", ומוצאם לוט, במידת-מה, בערפל²¹. מן הסתם הם היו צאצאיהם של בני-שבטים סוריים, שלא השלימו עם כיבושי יוסטיניאנוס הראשון אלא נסוגו אל הגבעות שבתחתית רכס הטאורוס, ומשם ערכו פשיטות שוד בכפרי הסביבה²². בראשונה הם נראים אפוא כשודדים. שלא איכפת להם במיוחד את מי הם מתקיפים, ואספקט זה של פעולתם לא נעלם כליל כל עוד

17 תיאופאנט, ו, 354 (2—4) וכן מקורות ערביים המצוטטים אצל קאנאר, כ"ל, עמ' 79; שני אלה מזכירים את מבצע קיזיקוס. המקור היווני הראשי האחר, ניקפורוס (Nicephorus), Chronographia Compendiaria, הוצ' ק. די בור (C. de Boor), לייפציג (1880), 32 (14—15), מדבר רק על התקפות הצי הערבי.

18 תיאופאנט, ו, 355 (6)—356 (8); דלגר, כ"ל, 239. דברי תיאופאנט מובאים להלן במלואם (עמ' 238).

19 ראה על כך פ. מרטייה (F. Mercier), Le feu grégois, פאריס (1952); J. R. Partington, A History of Greek fire and Gunpowder, Cambridge (1961) pp. 12—14; 30—12.

20 דבר הסופה נזכר בייחוד אצל ניקפורוס, 32 (22—23).

21 סיבום החומר שבידינו ניתן אצל ק. אמאנטוס (K. Amantos), "Μαρδαῖται", Ἑλληνικά, ו, (1932), עמ' 130—136.

22 ק. נ. סאתאס (K. N. Sathas), Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθηκὴ (1873), ו, עמ' 45. קולאקובסקי, כ"ל, עמ' 255, טועה בקבעו את מוצאם בהרי הלבנון, מקום שם נתגלו בזמן מאוחר יותר; ראה להלן, עמ' 238.

הסתערותם של הערבים מפני מהומות פנימיות. הכליף השלישי, כלומר, יורשו השלישי של מוחמד, עותמאן, נרצח, והריב הישן-נושן בין בני האשם, שבט הנביא, לבין בני אומיה, שמנהיגם היה עתה מעאויה, מושלה של סוריה, היה למאבק גלוי.⁸ בשנת 661 ניצח מעאויה ונעשה לכליף. דבר זה לא היה בו בשום פנים משום בטחון לשושלת האומיית ולא הביא מיד יציבות לעולם הערבי. מכל מקום היה זה האות להתפרצות חדשה של פעילות תוקפנית, שהנחילה לצבאות ביזאנטיה מפלה אחר מפלה והגיעה לשיאה במאמץ כביר לכבוש את קושטה.

תחילה חודשו פשיטות הערבים אל מעבר לגבול סוריה. מנהיג הפשיטה הראשונה — ואולי הכליף החדש עצמו — מצא, כנראה, את הביזאנטינים בלתי-מוכנים לגמרי, כי בהודמנות זו "עשה המפקד הרומאי שלום ולא גילה נטייה להתמודד אתו".⁹ בשנה שלאחר מכן (662), ואפשר באביב של השנה שלאחריה, היתה התקפת חזקה יותר.¹⁰ בינתיים הועמדה ממשלת האימפריה בפני קשיים חדשים. קונסטאנס השני יצא לבלי שוב לאיטליה ולסיציליה, אם לחידוש תביעות אימפריאליות ואם מתוך יאוש מן המצב במזרח.¹¹ ובשש השנים שלאחר-מכן לא היתה, למעשה, שום התגוננות מפני הערבים. בשנת 663 עשו הערבים לראשונה את החורף בשטח הביזאנטיני,¹² ואפשר שערכו גם התקפה נוספת על הבירה.¹³ בשנים 664 ו-665 חדרו כנופיותיהם לכל פינותיה של אסיה הקטנה, וכוחות-עזר סלאביים ערקו לאלפים ועברו לצידם. בסתיו של שנת 667 התקומם צבא בפיקודו של בעל-הברית הארמני שאפור.¹⁴ בנו של קונסטאנס — לאחר-מכן הקיסר קונסטאנטינוס הרביעי (678—685) — שיגר משלחת לדמשק מתוך נסיון-סרק לשכנע את מעאויה, כי התמיכה באיזה מורד שהוא מדיניות בלתי-נבונה היא.¹⁵ והערבים יצאו לעזרת שאפור, בכוחות ים ויבשה משולבים ובתגבורות ממדינה וממצרים. אף-על-פי ששאפור נספה בתאונה קודם שהיה סיפק בידו לאחד את שני הצבאות, אף-על-פי-כן ניתנה הרוחפה הדרושה: הערבים המשיכו בלעדיו והגיעו לחלקדון, והפעם לא ככנופיה פושטת אלא בצבא רב.¹⁶

8 על המהומות הפנימיות באיסלאם במאה הראשונה להגירה ראה: ג'. זיידאן (J. Zaidan), *Umayyads and 'Abbasids* (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series No. 4), לונדון (1905).

9 אל-יעקובי, מצוטט אצל ברוקס, כ"ל, עמ' 184.

10 תיאופאנס, ו, 348 (10—11): "נהרגו אצילים רבים מאוד".

11 שאלה זו לא נתבררה עדיין באופן סופי; ראה א. קסטנר (I. Kaestner), *De Imperio Constantini III*, לייפציג (1907), עמ' 73—75; י. א. קולאקובסקי (Y. A. Kulakovsky), *Istoriya Vizantii*, קייב (1915) [ברוסית], וו, עמ' 221—222; אוסטרובורסקי, כ"ל, עמ' 110—108.

12 ברוקס, כ"ל, עמ' 184.

13 אל-נפדי, מצוטט אצל קאנאר, כ"ל, עמ' 67.

14 תיאופאנס, ו, 348 (29—30).

15 פ. דלגר (F. Doelger), *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ostroemischen Reiches*, חלק ו: 565—1025, מינכן (1924), מס' 235.

16 תיאופאנס, ו, 351 (2—5).

הגנת גבולה המזרחי של ביזאנטיה והמרדאים

אחת התקופות הגורליות בשמונה מאות השנים למאבקה של ביזאנטיה עם האיסלאם, אם בצורתו הערבית, הסלג'וקית או העותמנית — חלה בראשיתו של פרקיזמן זה, משנת 652 עד שנת 678. בשנים אלו נשקפה סכנה לקיום האימפריה והמאבק ניטש על חיים ומוות. בעשרים השנים שקדמו להן רבו גם רבו האסונות שפקדו את ביזאנטיה. ארץ-ישראל, מצרים וסוריה אכדו לה¹. ארמניה הביזאנטית (המכונה "מחוז ארמניה הרביעית") הותקפה². הערבים החלו לפשוט אל מעבר להרי הטאורוס, ואל מישוריה הפוריים ועריה העשירות של אסיה הקטנה, שהיתה אז לבה של האימפריה³. ועדיין לא היה כל זה אלא פתיחה למה שבא בסמוך לו. בשנת 652 הגיע צי ערבי לקושטה — לפי המקור העיקרי לאותה תקופה, והיא הכרוניקה של תיאופאנס⁴, בעוד מקור ארמני זעיר, הקרוב יותר לתקופת המאורעות, מדבר גם על התקפה באותו זמן מצד היבשה⁵. ואפשר שאפילו הקיסר עצמו (קונסטאנטינוס השני הנקרא לפעמים קונסטאנטינוס השלישי, 641—668) היה מעורב בדבר וניצל בקושי ממוות⁶. בשנת 654 כבשו הערבים את רוודוס⁷. בשנת 655 נעצרה באופן זמני

- 1 תיאור כללי ניתן אצל ג. אוסטרוגורסקי (G. Ostrogorsky), *History of the Byzantine State* (מהדורה שלישית מתוקנת, בתרגומו של ג. האסי—[J. Hussey]), אוכספורד (1956), עמ' 98—110 (מספרי העמודים לפי תרפיס אוניברסיטה ראטרט [Rutgers] משנת 1957).
- 2 ג'ון מאמיגוניאן (John Mamigonian), *History of Daron*, ערך וחידגם פ. לאנגלוא (F. Langlois), *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes d'Arménie*, פאריס (1878—1885), עמ' 57—58.
- 3 הפשיטה הראשונה היתה בשנת 641; ראה א. ו. ברוקס (E. W. Brooks), *The Arabs in Asia Minor from Arabic Sources*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVIII (1898), עמ' 182.
- 4 *Theophanis Chronographia*, הוצאת ק. די בור (C. de Boor), לייפציג (1883—1885), ו 345 (15). השוה מקור ערבי קדום מאוד, אליסברי, המצוטט אצל ברוקס כניל, עמ' 184.
- 5 פ. מאקלר (F. Macler), *L'Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebeos*, פאריס (1904), עמ' 140.
- 6 רשימה מקורות ערביים למסורת זו נמצאת אצל מ. קאנאר (M. Canard), *Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, *Journal Asiatique*, CCVIII (1926), עמ' 65.
- 7 תיאופאנס, ו, 345 (8).

תוכן העניינים

7	לזכרו של פרופ' שרף מאת אברהם סולטמן
15	הצהרות והכללות: קרל פופר על היסטוריוציסם
28	היום השמיני בשבוע
52	היהודים בביזאנטיון
80	הראקליוס ומוחמד
96	יהודי ביזאנטיון במאה השביעית
109	היהודים, המונטניסטים והקיסר ליאו השלישי
119	חזון דניאל כמקור לתולדות יהודי ביזאנטיון
136	משיח בלתי ידוע ב-1096 והקיסר אלכסיוס
148	יהודי ביזאנטיון במאה השלוש-עשרה
160	שבתי דונולו כדמות יהודי ביזאנטיני
178	"תלי" ו"ג'וזאהר" במקרוקוסמוס של שבתי דונולו
190	בעלי חיים כקורבנות בכנסייה הארמנית
223	האורתודוקסיה הביזאנטינית וה"צום של הכנה" הארמני
247	הארמנים והביזאנטים בתקופת אלכסיוס קומננוס הראשון
269	היהודים, הארמנים והאפטריארך אתנסיוס הראשון
287	מלך ארמני בחצר המלך ריצי'רד השני
301	אליעזר שרף: רשימת פרסומים
	חלק עברי
ז	הגנת גבולה המזרחי של ביזאנטיה והמרדאים
יט	הערות על קטע מספר חכמוני לשבתי דונולו

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ומיעוטים
אחרים
בביזאנטיון



הוצאת אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

אליעזר שרף
יהודים ומיעוטים אחרים בביזאנטיון

אליעזר שרף

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